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ABSTRACT

Recognizing a need for an objective, multidisciplinary and comprehensive look at the field of bilingual education, the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Center for Applied Linguistics cooperated in a state-of-the-art study of the field. State-of-the-art papers were commissioned in four general areas concerning bilingual education: social science, languages and linguistics, law, and education. Each paper formed the central focus for a separate conference at which it was discussed and elaborated upon by specialists from various fields within a given discipline. This volume is the first in a series of four volumes that present a collection of the major papers and the viewpoints of the discussants. The focus of the volume is social science. The state-of-the-art paper is "The Social Science Perspective," by Joshua Fishman, and the viewpoints include: "Social History," by Shirley Brice Heath; "Ethongraphy," by Hugh Mehan; "Anthropology," by Sarah Nieves-Squires; "Sociology and Education," by H. Ned Seelye; and "Political Science," by Brian Weinstein. A bibliography concludes the volume. (CLK)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION: CURRENT PERSPECTIVES

Social Science

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CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 1

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: CURRENT PERSPECTIVES

Social Science

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Any references to Bilingual Education 1976-1977: The State of the Art *in the text of these volumes refer to this project and the current title,* Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives.

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Preface

The Center for Applied Linguistics, which serves as a national center for policy, research, and information in language and linguistics in the United States, is pleased to make this survey of *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives* available to decision-makers and others interested in this important and rapidly-developing field. These volumes, and the conferences from which they came, reflect a concern on the part of the Center that significant decisions are constantly being made regarding bilingual education--by judges, lawyers, legislators, policy planners, administrators, teachers, parents--frequently in the absence of adequate information on which to intelligently base those decisions.

Believing that informed decisions are crucial in efforts to effectively meet the needs of non- and limited-English-speaking students, the Center brought together leading specialists in the United States concerned with bilingual education from a number of disciplines, to provide the most complete compilation of information possible on this subject. The results reflect the complexity of the situation, as well as the relative paucity of research data resulting from an almost total lack of federal funding for research. It is a national scandal that the United States has spent over half a billion dollars on bilingual programs, and less than one-tenth of one percent of this amount on the basic research needed to improve the quality of programs. If defense systems and medical drugs were developed in the same way, we would certainly fear for our national safety and health. But in education, programs continue to be planned, and legislation implemented, with little thought for research. It is ironic that although Canada has probably spent one-tenth as much money on bilingual programs as the United States, most of the research available on bilingual education has and continues to come from Canada. This is a situation which policy-makers urgently need to remedy, if efforts to insure equal education opportunity for limited-English-speaking students are to proceed with any confidence.

The Center for Applied Linguistics has been active since its inception in 1959 in the fields of teaching English to non-English speakers and the teaching of foreign languages, and in recent years has given priority to work in bilingual education in an effort to improve the quality and effectiveness of this approach to language instruction. Currently, the Center, in effect, serves as a national resource center in the field of bilingual education. Through its work in this field and its other research and service projects dealing with language and education, the Center has developed considerable capabilities for assisting schools and communities to meet the needs of multilingual populations.

The Center is grateful to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for providing financial support to this project, and to the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Washington, D.C. for their encouragement and funding of the development of a grant proposal.

I want to thank Leann Parker, who served as coordinator for the series of conferences, and helped see these publications through the press. She did an excellent job of a very complex task, and deserves our gratitude.

Rudolph C. Troike, Director
June 1977

Foreword

The nature of language and its relationship to culture is such that it is unfeasible to attempt to change one and not the other. Attempts have been made to teach English as a second language, as in the case of Puerto Rico, allowing the Puerto Rican society to maintain its native Spanish language and culture. In the case of Puerto Rico, the learning of English has become a necessity brought about by its close political and economic ties to the United States. In the past, the emphasis in the school system was placed on the study of English in order to Americanize the island.

Traditionally, the teaching of English as a second language in the United States has been geared toward the complete acculturation of foreign and ethnic groups to the mainstream of American society, without allowing these ethnic groups to use their mother tongue for any other purpose than social communication in their communities. However, the Puerto Ricans have determined that it is their right to keep Spanish as their first language and learn English as a second. In Puerto Rico, Spanish as the native tongue has been maintained for use not only in social settings but in overall economic and political communications, with English used as the language of technology.

The knowledge of more than one language has become a necessity in the world we live in today. Our close ties to each and every other member of the world has also made it necessary to understand the different cultures which comprise our society, without imposing any one language or culture on any member of that society.

This concern about the nature of language and culture and related education policies, both in the United States and Puerto Rico, led the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (OCPRW) to inquire more about what is actually happening in the field of bilingual education in terms of research and practices. As the Center for Applied Linguistics shared many of these same concerns, the OCPRW decided to support a proposal by CAL to develop an in-depth, objective state of the art study of the field. We hope that the

papers presented in these volumes will bring a greater understanding of the issues and the state of our knowledge about various aspects of bilingual education and will provide a basis for sound decision-making in the future.

Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
in Washington, D.C.

June 1977

Introduction

One of the most noteworthy and controversial movements in American education over the past decade has been bilingual education. The concept of providing instruction in their own language to students who come to school speaking little or no English was given federal sanction in the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Since that time, bilingual education programs serving numerous language groups have multiplied across the country as federal, state and local funds have been allocated to this purpose. Momentum was increased by the landmark *Lau v. Nichols* decision in January 1974. The Supreme Court found that providing identical education programs for both English- and non-English-speaking students did not constitute equal education opportunity and that special language instruction was necessary to allow non-English speakers real access to the content of the education services. Although not strictly mandated by the *Lau* decision, bilingual education has been seen by the Office of Civil Rights (DHEW) and subsequent court rulings as a major way of meeting the special needs of these students.

As public monies have been spent, and as linguistic and cultural minorities have vied for visibility and power, questions about bilingual education have abounded. The questioning of fundamental claims has recently been accentuated with the advent of Congressional hearings in preparation for rewriting the federal legislation in 1978.

It is in this context of controversy that the Center for Applied Linguistics, long a supporter of greater education opportunity for American minority groups, felt the need to take a hard and objective look at what is known about the undeniably complex nature of bilingual education. Many academic disciplines are researching relevant aspects of bilingualism, language acquisition and teaching in a bilingual situation from their own perspectives. People in other fields such as law, legislation and education administration are more involved in policy aspects of bilingual education. Each

group deals with the issues in its own way and each has much to contribute in terms of understanding the complex issues; yet, each needs access to sound information on which to base further research and analysis or the field and for decision-making.

Recognizing the need for an objective, multidisciplinary and comprehensive look at the field of bilingual education, CAL sought support for a project which could produce such a state of the art survey. Sharing the Center's concern, the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Washington (OCPRW), under the directorship of Jose Cabranes, provided support for the development of a grant proposal which was subsequently funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The OCPRW has continued to assist the project through the participation and advice of Carmen Delgado Votaw.

CAL commissioned state of the art papers on four general areas of bilingual education: social science research, language and linguistic research, legal precedents and aspects and education perspectives and education research. Each paper formed the central focus for a separate conference at which it was discussed and elaborated on by specialists from different fields within that discipline. The conferences were attended by invited representatives of various federal agencies and other organizations, whose questions and comments brought useful direction to the discussions. During the spring of 1977, a final panel representing the several fields was convened. Participants at this session included authors of the major state of the art papers and specialists from a variety of fields. Their task was three-fold: To share information across disciplines; to synthesize what each could empirically say about various issues and questions in bilingual education; and to assist in the development of a guide to pertinent research findings for decision-makers.

This series of volumes presents the collection of major review papers and viewpoints of the discussants. Each of the first four volumes presents the particular perspective and research of a particular area. Following the meetings, the writers of the major papers were permitted the opportunity to revise their papers. Discussants' papers, although written in reaction to early drafts of the major papers, have been included for their insightful comments and frequently detailed reviews of the literature of specific areas of the various fields. The final or "synthesis" volume of this series has been designed to summarize and organize the findings in the various fields, and to direct the reader to relevant discussions in the papers presented in the other volumes.

CAL expresses its gratitude to the participants at each conference for their enthusiasm and contributions to increasing the understanding of bilingual education (see the acknowledgments for a list of conference participants). In particular, we thank the authors of the major review papers: Joshua A. Fishman, G. Richard Tucker, Herbert Teitelbaum and Richard Hiller, and George Blanco.

The project was also assisted by the able guidance of a steering committee and several advisors whom we would like to thank for their participation in this effort. Special thanks go to

Rudolph C. Troike and Roger W. Shuy, whose overview of the issues as well as their support and recommendations provided valuable direction throughout the project. Appreciation is also due to Shirley Brice Heath, whose insight and suggestions during the development of the synthesis volume were particularly helpful.

The Center also wishes to express its sincere appreciation to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for its generous and indulgent support of the project, and to project monitors Vivien Stewart and Frederick Mosher for their advice and assistance throughout the project.

Without the assistance and moral support of a number of competent persons working as a team it would not have been possible to plan and carry out the multitude of details and preparations essential to making the conferences run smoothly and to readying the papers for publication. Thanks also go to CAL's Bilingual Education and Indian Education Programs for their assistance throughout the project. We particularly thank the following staff for their participation in the synthesis meeting: Rosario C. Gingrás, Tracy C. Gray, Gilbert García, Lance Potter, and Phyllis Nudelman. We express our special appreciation to Cynthia H. Gusky for her expert secretarial assistance, to Diane Bartosh for her care in the copy-editing of the papers and in their final preparation for publication, and to Sonia Kundert for typing the first final manuscript.

L. Leann Parker, Project Coordinator
June 1977

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Keynote

The Social Science Perspective

Joshua A. Fishman

LANGUAGE PLANNING

Although bilingual education is as old as formal education per se (Lewis, 1976), it is sufficiently new or noteworthy in some parts of the world--particularly the USA--for its initiation and subsequent treatment (both viewed as policy issues) to have come under recent social science scrutiny. Such scrutiny properly fits into the area of specialization known as language planning (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971; Fishman, 1974A), particularly insofar as it is concerned with how language policy decisions come to be made, implemented, evaluated and revised, and, more generally, with how resources (funds, time, personnel) are authoritatively allocated to languages. Generally speaking, students of bilingual education are not yet cognizant of the possible relevance of language planning for their concerns (however, see Drake, 1975; Kruis, 1975; the first 12 pages of Paulston, 1974; Stoller, 1976), perhaps because so few language planning specialists have attempted to link the two fields of endeavor (however, see Rubin, 1977B).

Policy ("Status") Planning

Most of the recent policy decisions concerning U.S. bilingual education have remained largely undocumented in terms of the *processes* and *pressures* that transpired in connection with them, particularly the processes by which these were amended as they moved through various subcommittees and "off the record" sessions. Even the original epoch-making Bilingual Education Act has received only a bare modicum of attention, in that there are available no more than a very few scholarly (Stoller, 1976) or even journalistic accounts (Kobrick, 1972; *New Republic*, 1967; *Commonweal*, 1967) of the forces and counterforces that led to its enactment in the form which it took in late 1967. In addition, there are the published records of the House and Senate hearings in connection

with the original bills that ultimately led to the Act. Finally, there are some accounts of the budgetary (mis)fortunes, the implementational interpretations and the textual revisions that the Act has undergone. Even such meager documentation of how policy is made is not (yet) available for either the *Lau* decision (1973) or the Aspira consent decree (1974). Indeed, in conjunction with the bulk of federal, state and local actions, whether legislative, judiciary or executive, we have little more than a compilation of final texts of legislation, court decisions and statutory provisions (Geffert et al, 1975; Kloss, 1971). What we lack, therefore, in terms of an ethnography of communication, is considerably more than what we have or need, namely perspective on who wants to get what, who wants to *keep* what (control of educational funds and personnel), and how the various parties go about trying to get their way: proposing, compromising, bargaining, threatening, influencing, rationalizing, withdrawing or advancing, and their reasons, public and private, for so doing (note one "heated and memorable" quotation in Krauss, 1974; Schneider, 1977). Much information of this type is still collectable because of the recency of major events such as the above and because of the ongoing flow of current events in the bilingual education field, both in the U.S. and elsewhere (see Alexakos, 1975).* It is vital that such information be obtained systematically since without it neither latent nor manifest sequences of purposes--processes--outcomes are either reconcilable or fully understandable to legislators, administrators, teachers, community leaders or parents involved in subsequent stages of bilingual education efforts.

We *do* have a bit of historical perspective on bilingual education policies in earlier periods of American history. Kloss' work on German-American endeavors on behalf of bilingual education in the public sphere is particularly noteworthy in this connection (1966), as are Leibowitz's studies of language imposition in the U.S.A. (1970A, 1971A, 1971B, 1974) and Kruis' history of Navajo schools more specifically (1975). Heath's current work on language policy (decisions and indecisions) during American colonial days can also be expected to be highly rewarding. All illumine the difficulties experienced by minorities when faced by internal uncertainty, on the one hand (Should separatism or integration or some combination of both be sought?), and external variability and inconsistency, on the other. The long term trend was obviously such as to erode earlier substantial efforts on behalf of American bilingual education and, in that light, the recent upsurge is too

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** In the absence of real data, note Edwards' assumption (1976) that the Bilingual Education Act "arose not from the poor themselves, but from concerned individuals in government. The poor, unlike other groups, have no lobby," and LaFontaine's assumption (1975) that the opposite was true and that the only reliable pressure came from below. Without data any number of sensible views are entertainable.*

new to be accurately evaluable as to whether it is a momentary or permanent reversal in social outlooks and in economic political constellations. At any rate, histories can only attempt to reconstruct social processes that have long since ceased, and often they do not attempt to do even that, having other valid goals to pursue. Therefore, it behooves us all the more to organize inquiry into the recent and currently ongoing history of bilingual education in such a way that the social process dimension is fully reflected. Policy makers, policy influencers, policy interpreters and policy implementors all need to be studied--at federal, state and local levels--so that the dynamics of bilingual education policy decisions can come to be as well known as they are in some other areas of language planning (Das Gupta, 1970; Rubin, 1977A; Fishman and Fellman, 1977; Rubin, 1971). Stoller's paper (1976) offers many useful observations in this connection since it provides previously unpublished details concerning the funding and the operation of the U.S. Office of Education, with clear indications as to the lack of funds, as well as to the lack of real regulatory power, of the Office of Bilingual Education. These are certainly two important policy-implementing facts to keep in mind as any chain of circumstances is traced from one level to the next.

Corpus Planning

Policy planning is initially primarily status planning. In connection with bilingual education, it is concerned with whether instruction via languages other than the hitherto unmarked language of education (in the USA: English) should be admissible/supportable in schools that purport to meet compulsory education requirements. Officially recognized educational status is a particular social status for a language and, in modern life, it is an increasingly crucial status because of the growing isomorphism between educational, cultural, economic and political systems (Fishman, 1972B). It may or may not imply admission to status in other institutional domains (government, justice, employment, etc.) and even its admission to the education domain may or may not be surrounded by time, treatment and purpose limitations. Above all, it must be kept in mind that policy planning with respect to language involves one of the most highly symbolic activities and commodities of human kind. Thus, status planning with respect to the admissibility of another language as a recognized (co-)medium of instruction is likely to involve both inter- and intra-community conflict. However, some conflict is always present in all social processes, and that involved in bilingual education status planning is likely to be a direct reflection of more basic conflict potentials and, indeed, may actually function to dissipate rather than to accumulate more stressful pressures. Once status planning issues are negotiated and codified, the implementation of decisions pertaining to them can be attempted. However, a common problem for languages that have never before (or, at least, not recently)

functioned in a particular status is that they are not, as a corpus, quite ready to serve in the new contexts that may be made available to them. Some may lack writing systems. Others may lack particular nomenclatures that are needed if formal educational goals are to be attained. Still others may lack community consensus as to which (or whether all) of their social/regional varieties should be declared "schoolworthy" (i.e. to be a/the "school standard"). All vernaculars have experienced some of the pangs of corpus planning upon first becoming "schoolworthy," and in most cases, the corpus planning process too is a conflicted one (although possibly not as conflicted as status planning) since such planning involves the reallocation of symbolic status within the marked community.

Ways of writing, spelling and pronouncing in schools are not merely objective issues to be solved on a least effort basis, but rather, are symbolic of established intra-group differences and rivalries. For many educational settings throughout the world, various aspects of the total process of corpus planning have been rather extensively documented (e.g. Ponopean: Garvin, 1959; Norwegian: Haugen, 1966; Dutch: Geerts et al, 1976; Hebrew: Fellman, 1973; Malaysian-Indonesian: Omar, 1975; Pilipino: Sibayan, 1971). They all indicate the vacuousness of corpus planning when status planning has not arrived at a sufficiently powerful consensus to make sure that laboriously perfected nomenclatures, orthographies, style manuals, grammars (as well as the necessary curricular guides and pedagogic materials that all of the foregoing require) are supported both by school and community authorities. Although it is probably inadvisable to delay corpus planning until all status planning issues are settled, it is clear that as the language consciousness of a population grows, it becomes increasingly riskier to engage in the latter without authoritative clarification of the former. Three decades of academic research and tepid governmental recognition did not do for Pilipino corpus planning what one year's strong support (1975-1976) has accomplished in terms of energetic nomenclature development, materials preparation, teacher training and actual school practice (A. González, 1974; note, however, the "small cloud" on the horizon as to the possible status planning significance of the distinction between Pilipino and Filipino).

The Latin American and North American (U.S. and Canadian) bilingual education contexts in this connection have received far less attention than they deserve. The Navajo Reading Project (indeed, formal education in various Indian languages in Latin America, the U.S. and Canada), the still unresolved choice between Spanish varieties in the U.S., efforts to adapt Canadian French to modern Anglo-dominated functions, these are all instances of corpus planning. How is/was it actually done? What different views of models are/were advanced? What support does/did each receive, from whom and why? What institutionalized means exist for further corpus planning? We do not have detailed answers to any of these questions. Just as in the case of status planning for American bilingual education, where we have policy statements (laws, rulings,

statutes, interpretations, guidelines, etc.) but few process reports of how these were actually arrived at, so in the case of corpus planning, we have new writing systems and new nomenclatures and new "delivery systems" with respect to popularizing the foregoing, but few indications of how they came into being. The few records that we do have (some, like those of Spolsky and associates, deriving precisely from *within* the context of bilingual education needs [e.g. Young, 1976; Kruis, 1975], and others, like those of Whitely, 1969; Basso and Anderson, 1977 deriving from without that context) all point to the need for community involvement, even if only at the level of community "authorities," so that corpus planning can retain the authenticity/purity aura that appears to be so emotionally-motivationally central to its success at the stage when proto-elites seek to mobilize support for a new allocation of language functions (Fishman, 1972B). The psycho-educational lobby's and the publishing industry's involvement in all of these processes deserves careful monitoring, both in connection with the appropriation and the allocation of corpus planning funds, since these vested interests further intensify the caretaker role that schools exercise over languages. "The good [proper] language" often becomes a particular trust of teachers and textbook writers and these, therefore, interact with corpus planning in very special, personal, emotional ways over and above the usual ideological, intellectual, aesthetic and material expectations with which language is more widely associated (Fishman, 1974A).

Implementation, Evaluation and Revision

Both status and corpus planning *require* implementation and *deserve* evaluation and revision if they are to be maximally effective. These topics are beginning to be investigated, but haltingly so and with many gaps. Implementation is *primarily* discussed in terms of funds (Stoller, 1976; Fishman, 1970); evaluation: in either piecemeal terms of one project or another (Cohen, 1975A) or in completely theoretical terms (Ericson, 1974); revision: in terms of new legislation that is desired/attained. All of these are valid approaches, of course, but they do not come to grips with "real, live social processes" on the one hand, and in the case of evaluation, do not cumulate readily or frequently at the national or regional levels (note, however, Gaarder, 1970 and Kjolseth, 1973, both of whom conclude from a review of various local efforts that bilingual education programs are undercutting non-English mother tongues as a result of their assimilation/transitional emphases). Status planning is at least often involved in argumentative, albeit largely impressionistic, reviews. The implementation, evaluation and revision of corpus planning is almost entirely overlooked, particularly insofar as American bilingual education is concerned. All in all, as American bilingual education moves increasingly toward mandated and categorical (rather than experimental or demonstration) programs, it becomes increasingly important to know how those who implement both policy and programs (and who have often

not been involved in formulating either the one or the other) interpret and react to the enterprise in which they are engaged. Patterned evasion and widespread misunderstanding are likely to be as common in this connection as they have been found to be in most other bureaucratic systems of policy implementation. Finally, it is particularly important to realize that language planning is not merely a single complete cycle but that there are feedback possibilities at every step of the way (from corpus planning back upon status planning, from implementation back upon corpus planning, etc.). Unless the entire sequence is monitored systematically, several such linkages will be missed and the real process of language planning in bilingual education will be misunderstood by those who might wish to improve/alter it.

Policy Perspective on Bilingual Education

Although by no means "evidentiary" in the usual research sense, much of the integrative "philosophical" work on bilingual education may be viewed as part and parcel of the policy debate which underlies status planning. Much of this work is advocatory, although some claim to objectivity can be made in each case. Interestingly enough, few (if any) integrative efforts along rejective lines have appeared in print (attacking the validity or desirability of bilingual education), although many of the advocates of bilingual education claim to have encountered opposition/rejection from one audience or another and react to such in their work. This in itself would be an interesting "sign of the times," were it not for the fact that "letters to the editor" and articles in local newspapers (where the bulk of rejective comments appear) are read by a far smaller proportion of researchers than of the general public. (Note, the open hostility to bilingual education expressed in a privately prepared and distributed political tract reported in *Un Nuevo Día*, 2:2, 1976, p. 16 and a recent *New York Times* editorial, "Bilingual Danger," Nov. 22, 1976.)

Lewis (Ms.) recognizes both political and cultural rationales for bilingual education, although he tends to regard the latter as secondary to the former. (In *this* respect his stance approximates the classical and the neo-Marxian views that hold cultural facts to be both *derivative* from political-economic considerations as well as *contributory* to political-economic considerations, but in either case, to be secondary to them [Fishman, 1977D]). On the political side, Lewis' concern, quite naturally, is with power (including technological modernization). Who has it? How will it be redistributed if bilingual education is introduced? Who, therefore, opposes bilingual education? To the extent that bilingual education supports or erodes cultural distinctions, thus redirecting, quickening or delaying cultural change--which is, of course, constantly ongoing at some rate and in some direction--it also inevitably fosters the eventual politicization of these distinctions. Lewis doubts that cultural goals can be maintained or pursued in their own right. On the other hand, he is worried about the disrup-

tive politicization of purportedly cultural goals, whether these be integrative or separative. He is *most* positively--and certainly non-Marxistically--inclined toward bilingual education for strictly educational purposes (improved initial learning, sensitivity to new realms of creativity, cross-cultural perspectives, international understanding), that is, where neither strong political nor cultural goals are in evidence. While others may or may not agree with Lewis, of all the goals advanced in connection with bilingual education, the educational enrichment position has been least fully developed, and the de-politicization of bilingual education is likely to be more attractive for those that already possess power than for those that still seek it.

Gaarder's philosophical position is superficially similar to Lewis' in that he (Gaarder) also stresses political factors in bilingual education (Ms.[A]). However, he is more basically concerned with cultural goals and with the preciousness of cultural differences. Although he is as convinced of the inherent justice of cultural pluralism as are most other American advocates (Fishman, 1976A; Ramírez and Castaneda, 1974; and Seda Bonilla, 1975. etc.), the acquisition and safeguarding of either social justice or cultural democracy appear to Gaarder to be unattainable without major political (i.e. legal and economic) assistance and protection. Once attained and stablized, he believes that bilingual education should obviate rather than lead to further politicization. However, "until evidence to the contrary is displayed, the conclusion must be that it is illusory to suppose that the languages of dominated peoples can be protected without legal recognition and some form of cultural protection--including linguistic--autonomy (Gaarder, Ms.[a])." Such views lead Gaarder to the recognition that "cultural politics" rather than *either* culture or politics alone must be pursued, if U.S. bilingual education is to be more than an elite-sponsored reform of short term duration and of transitional emphases. In the long-run, even legal protection is not enough (and is much too expensive for impoverished minorities to resort to). Only a strong popular movement involving both the marked and the unmarked communities can put bilingual education in the hands of the parents whose children will be most affected by it, and only such control is either educationally effective or morally defensible (Hall, 1975). Only the first glimmers of such a movement are discernable in practice at this time in connection with bilingual education (see *Defensa* 1976, No. 1). Kjolseth's view (1973) is basically similar to Gaarder's in awarding primacy to ethnic concerns. He is, however, convinced that the bilingual home must be made the fulcrum of all efforts on behalf of language--and culture--maintenance efforts and that the school (even the bilingual school) is an inevitable subvertor of such efforts.

When pushed too far, both political and cultural emphases become reductionistic. Such reductionism is discernable in Lewis' underlying suspicion that ethnicity (and, therefore, its language demands) is merely a derivative of basic power (resources) differentials. In other words, power strivings require ethnicity appeals

to be realized. On the other hand, Gaarder and Kjolseth, in true Herderian fashion, consider ethnicity to be the more basic, pan-human drive and a "good" in its own right. In Weberian terms, they also conceive of ethnicity strivings as tending toward political and economic formations that enable them to become better established and protected. Both camps come together (Lewis out of his Soviet exposure; Gaarder and Kjolseth out of sociolinguistic theory) in their advocacy of diglossia: one language being legitimized for over-arching (supra-ethnic) unity, and the other, for ethnic individuality or educational/cultural specificity. (Other reviews of social-philosophical issues fundamental to policy formulation are quite numerous but largely boil down to either political-economic (transitional), ethno-cultural-maintenance, or--least often--educational (enrichment) rationales, or to their combination (Banks, 1973; Fishman, 1976A; Lester, 1974; Stent et al, 1973; Stone and DeNevi, 1971; Troike and Modiano, 1975; von Maltitz, 1975--all in the U.S.A.; and Bostock, 1974; Jones, 1966; Siquan, 1975; Stotting, in press; Smolicz, 1975 and Titone, 1972, to mention only a few, abroad). Recent ethnicity theory (de Vos and Romanucci-Ross, 1975; Fishman, 1976B; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Nahirny and Fishman, Ms.), has, thus far, had little direct contact with the bilingual education literature. A careful review of the ethnicity literature would also reveal the above major approaches, the more Gaarder-Kjolseth-like being stressed among those who are primarily concerned with the nature of ethnicity and its capacity for variable saliancy, and the more Lewis-like being stressed among those primarily concerned with the manipulability of ethnicity, whether in pre-industrial or post-industrial contexts. The meeting of these two fields of inquiry (ethnicity and bilingual education) is likely to be particularly rewarding for both in view of their complimentary customary levels of orientation toward theory and application, respectively.

Most recently, and at a somewhat more focused level, the policy debate has come to be concerned not so much with *whether* to pursue bilingual education, but rather, with *what kind* of bilingual education to pursue. Fasold (1975A) has offered four principles to guide policy decisions as to *which* languages should be employed in education (those with high functional importance as second languages, those whose native speakers regard them positively with respect to their schoolworthiness, those that have already reached higher stages of development, at least in terms of having literary traditions and a pool of educated speakers who can serve as teachers, and, finally, those with larger native-speaker populations). Gonzalez et al (1976) have argued on behalf of greater fidelity to the entire *repertoire* of spoken varieties of Puerto Rican Spanish and Puerto Rican English in the U.S.A. (as Kjolseth [1973] before them has done in connection with spoken varieties of Mexican Spanish), basing themselves on the avowedly Marxist ground that "we must integrate an understanding of the political implications of their usage and origins....At all times, we must remember that national cultures are class stratified, and that the 'dominant,'

'pure' and 'high' cultures being packaged by the U.S. have only one purpose--the derailment of the class struggle in the U.S." Finally, and most directly tied to the language planning literature, is Drake's analysis (1975) in which he outlines three alternative systems of bilingual education as an outgrowth of the *Lau* decision: (a) mother tongue education only ("...It may not be as inconceivable as many claim for some Chinese-, Mexican-, or Native Americans to opt to go to school and gain skills only in their mother tongue if they have a viable ethnic community in which to assume adult roles. This seems to me more desirable than the high dropout rates resulting in alienation from both the dominant and the ethnic culture... that has so often been the case in the past."); (b) mother tongue-dominant bilingual tracks where the home language is weak and threatened; (c) other tongue-dominant bilingual tracks where the home language is strong and unthreatened. Drake's trichotomy comes close to certain of the typological studies discussed later.

A related concern derived from recent court decisions pertaining to bilingual education has been the introduction of the notion of bilingual education for the purposes of attaining "educational equity" (Milán, 1975). Whereas *compensatory* bilingual education (see Fishman, 1976A) is conceived of as requiring justification (Does it compensate those who are disadvantaged relative to monolingual English-dominant society?), educational *equity* desiderata for intact minorities who do *not* sense themselves to be in any way culturally disadvantaged, might require nothing short of education almost entirely *via* the non-English mother tongue, *by* educated-in-the-mother-tongue native speakers, *using* all-in-mother-tongue materials and *in* an environment heavily loaded to support that kind of instruction (paraphrasing Gaarder, Ms.[B]). Similarly, equity for *culturally* dislocated minorities who also lack any sense of economic disadvantage might require monolingual English education rather than bilingual education of any kind. Unfortunately, discussions of these matters in the U.S. currently seem to be almost entirely restricted to scholars who favor bilingual education in general and more-than-transitional bilingual education in particular, and who do not believe that the intergroup relations constellation in the U.S. has anywhere near the political-separatist implications that they have had in Canada and may still/yet have elsewhere. Philosophical advocates of transitional-compensatory bilingual education are few and far between, whereas this is obviously the predominant type of bilingual education offered in the United States, provided for in law and conducted at public expense. Thus, insofar as bilingual education "professionals" are concerned, there is a real imbalance between the views and preferences most commonly recorded in the literature (also note Sirgado, 1976; Seda Bonilla, 1972; Hernández, 1975; Swanson, 1974; Gradisnik, 1975; Milán, 1976; Aspira, 1973) and the type of bilingual education most frequently encountered in American reality. Indeed, we must go outside of the professional bilingual education literature, e.g. to the writings of social commentators such as Nathan Glazer, hardly an advocate of bilingual education but definitely a sensitive and

stimulating "interpreter of the current scene," to find a defense of the transitional-compensatory approach in terms of social philosophy and social policy. In his recent review of ethnicity and our schools (1974), Glazer concludes that ours "is a complex reality... [that] should not be suppressed," and that transitional-compensatory bilingual education is an acceptable way of coping with that complexity and counteracting or controlling it. The complexity relating to bilingual education is tactical as well as cultural. However, for most American bilingual education specialists, the problem does not seem to be how to keep our ethno-cultural complexity from getting out of hand, as much as it is one of how to peacefully and creatively activate and protect it as a constantly changing but growing national resource and national trust.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The above mentioned socio-philosophical positions--regardless of their particular views--necessarily lead to the realization that schools are reflections of societal characteristics, societal needs, societal views and, above all, societal power constellations. Several approaches have been developed to incorporate the above realization into studies of bilingual education. Most of these approaches are typological. They attempt to recognize or to posit distinct types of communities/societies and to indicate the distinct types of bilingual education programs/emphases that these require/desire. Normally, the "types" are recognized as being idealizations that are far simpler and "tidier" than either education or societal reality can ever be. Therefore, they are presented as modal nodes or as conceptual guideposts, to clarify underlying parameters, rather than as detailed reflections of reality per se. Frequently, typologies are of help in initiating demographies, i.e. in studying the spatial distribution of schools/programs of all/particular "types." Another approach to the recognition of social variation in bilingual education, in addition to the typological (or the typological/demographic), is dimensional. In this approach, a more modest goal is pursued, namely one or more societal dimensions (budgetary support, distance from urban centers, out-of-school language functions, etc.) are related to educational goals (acquisition of English, maintenance of ethnic mother tongue, etc.). The dimensional approach is more empirical than is the typological and infinitely more useful for the prediction of specific criteria, but it is also less all-inclusive and, therefore, of more limited generalizability. Finally, there is an approach to the social variation of bilingual education which is population oriented rather than dimension oriented. This approach attempts to describe the teachers, parents or pupils involved in bilingual education and usually does so in connection with various social characteristics as well as in connection with their views and behaviors with respect to bilingual education.

The several types of studies mentioned above might stand in a given sequential relationship to each other: Repeated population

studies in various parts of the country might suggest dimensions that might then be investigated directly to see whether or not they go together across various populations (or across various samples of the same type of population). Once a number of dimensional studies had accumulated, their factorial compositing could lead to typologies built upon relatively firmer empirical bases and, thereafter, to demographies across types. However, just as we do not live in the best of all possible worlds, we also do not enjoy a completely rational economy of social research on bilingual education. Given the "unplanned" nature of much bilingual education (in terms of the language planning sequence sketched earlier), the possibility of an orderly "research economy" is likewise diminished. Nevertheless, both of these ideal states (planned bilingual education and an orderly research economy pertaining thereto) may be successively approximated over time. For whatever reason, our typologies appeared on the scene quite early--indeed, in advance of the bulk of empirical data. As a result they will undoubtedly have to undergo revision and replacement, as the normal give-and-take between theory and data obtains.

Typologies of Bilingual Education in Society

The beginning of typological wisdom is a dichotomy. Spolsky (1974) has suggested distinguishing between bilingual education programs that seek to "salvage the child" and those that seek to "salvage the language." The former is *compensatory* and aims at providing familiarity with the "language of mainstream society" (the language of wider political, economic and cultural participation) for children whose home communities have not provided them with such familiarity, and that are characterizable as disadvantaged but culturally intact. "Salvage the language" programs, on the other hand, are *language maintenance* rather than compensatory in orientation (see Muckley, 1972). In Spolsky's exposition these programs are also minority group focused, as are his "salvage the child" programs, but directed to populations that have already acquired familiarity with the overarching language (and culture) to such an extent that it is their ethnic mother tongue that requires salvaging. Presumably, then, these communities are (or fancy themselves to be) on the way to interaction with the wielders of power but are in socio-cultural disarray insofar as their traditional behavioral matrix is concerned.

Several criticisms have been directed at Spolsky's dichotomy. On the one hand, it would appear to be so particularly focused upon U.S. bilingual education (or, perhaps even more narrowly, upon that of Indians in the Southwest) as to be of lesser relevance elsewhere (e.g. in the Republic of South Africa where "Bantu" as well as Afrikaans medium of education is forced upon Blacks, or in Bavaria where the children of immigrant "guest workers" are permitted but little education via German as a medium of instruction and required to receive the bulk of their education via their mother tongues (Fishman, 1976C); but, in both cases, neither for the purpose of

saving the child nor for the purpose of saving the language, but rather for the purpose of reinforcing apartheid or encouraging repatriation. Spolsky's dichotomy pays too little attention to bilingual education for the non-minority child (and, therefore, may foster the unfortunate view that bilingual education is primarily a cure for a disease [bilingualism] that strikes minorities alone), on the one hand, and places altogether too little stress on what might be called "community salvage" on the other. How can either the child or the language be salvaged (or, alternatively, mustn't both be salvaged together?) if communities themselves (be they neighborhoods, reservations or entire regions) are wracked by the powerful change-forces of industrial and post-industrial society? And what about dominant minorities who do not know the language of the majority, but who are not in any way disadvantaged thereby, and neither whose children nor whose language require salvaging and who are nevertheless constantly "engaged" in bilingual education? Indeed, whether this be an asset or a debit of his model, Spolsky's dichotomy primarily focuses attention on the weakness of schools themselves when it comes to saving anything that the larger society has not fully recognized, dignified and supported. Similar criticisms can be addressed to several of the typologies that follow, most of which are also school-oriented.

Fishman's (1976A) trichotomy includes both of Spolsky's types but adds to it a third, namely *enrichment* oriented bilingual education that is not directed toward minorities in particular, but, rather, to any populations seeking additional cognitive and emotional exposure to that available via "monolingual deprivation" (Riegel and Freedle, 1975; Bain, 1975). The most interesting features about Fishman's trichotomy are: (a) Its theoretical implication that transitional/compensatory, language maintenance, and enrichment bilingual education are frequently sequentially related to each other as marked populations increase their political and economic positions. (b) The fact that his trichotomy derives from a *Q* factor analysis of self-report data from an international sample of nearly 100 bilingual education units at the secondary level. The sample was originally selected on the basis of a far more elaborate 16-cell typology (Fishman, 1974B), based upon four interacting dichotomies (programs stressing pupils' mother tongue vs. other tongue, each of the foregoing being either a minor or a major language on the world scene, each of the foregoing being either school-dependent or involved in out-of-school institutional use in their particular environments, and bilingual education as a whole being typical vs. atypical in the educational pattern of the region), but the seemingly more refined theoretical sophistication of the original typology appeared to be unwarranted by the empirical clustering of program characteristics actually encountered.*

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* *Fishman and Lovas (1970) advanced a "quadrachotomy", which actually predates any of the typologies mentioned in this section and which recognizes (a) transitional bilingual education, (b) monoliterate*

Paulston (1975) utilizes a more ambitious societal model, namely Schermerhorn's very complex (multi-dimensional) theory of minority-majority relations (1970), and derives bilingual education perspectives therefrom. This model is based upon three interacting dichotomies (see Figure 1 on page 14): subordinate vs. superordinate status of populations, centripetality vs. centrifugality of the ideologies they espouse, and congruence vs. incongruence of these ideologies, and yields 3^2 or 8 possible contexts for bilingual education, which, in turn, shake down into four socio-ideological settings, two of which potentially lead toward conflictual and two of which lead to non-conflictual states. When both superordinates and subordinates share a common centripetal trend, bilingual education will obviously be transitional (for the minorities) and assimilative incorporation of the minority into the majority will come to pass. (While Schermerhorn--and Paulston--indicate that this outcome can obtain "structurally"--i.e. by and large, economically--*without* necessarily occurring culturally, most others would claim that "structural" incorporation usually leads to cultural assimilation, although the reverse does *not* as generally obtain; see Gordon [1964] and my review of Weberian and Marxian as well as neo-Marxian views of the causal relationships between cultural and economic factors [1976C]). On the other hand, a non-conflictual state can also develop when superordinates and subordinates share centrifugal trends (as, for example, between the Afrikaaners and the English in the Republic of South Africa). In this context bilingual education will obviously be group maintenance oriented and will foster cultural separateness and mutual autonomy. A conflictual state can

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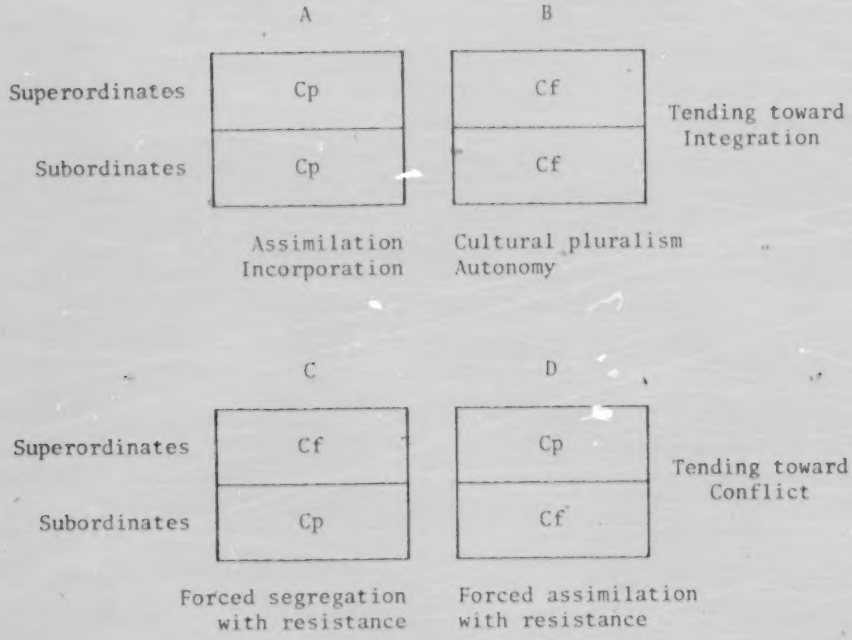
bilingual education, (c) biliterate bilingual education in which the minority language is a medium only for ethnically encumbered subjects, and (d) biliterate bilingual education in which there is no such functional restriction on either medium of instruction. A distinction similar to that between (c) and (d) was also latent in Fishman's trichotomy (above) in that enrichment *bilingual education appeared in two forms: (a) where the marked language (i.e., the language brought into the school as a result of bilingual education) was a language of wider communication (LWC) on the world scene (e.g., English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese or Arabic) and (b) where the marked language was* not *an LWC. Kjolseth points out that "threatenedness" is a* particular *kind of "marking" [personal communication]. Finally, it should be noted that the Fishman and Lovas model has had at least terminological impact with several state education departments (e.g., California and Massachusetts) utilizing the term "transitional" to designate the kind of bilingual education they most commonly support. Note the 1975 TESOL resolution on bilingual education to the effect "that the terminology 'compensatory education' as it applies to ESL and bilingual programs and students, in federal and state legislation guidelines, and general communications, is offensive ... [and should] be discontinued in favor of more positive language (Alatis and Twadell, 1976)."*

Figure 1

Congruent and Incongruent Orientations Toward Centripetal and Centrifugal Trends of Subordinates as Viewed by Themselves and Superordinates.

(From Schermerhorn 1970 as cited in Paulston 1975)



Cp = Centripetal trends

Cf = Centrifugal trends

come to pass when superordinates seek to draw away from subordinates who wish to join them. In this case forced segregation (resisted by the subordinates) results and bilingual education may actually be frowned upon by the superordinate authorities particularly for their own children (as in the case of "Bantus" in RSA). Finally, there is the opposite context, when minorities seek autonomy but are forced to assimilate by the powers that be. Little more than transitional bilingual education (for the minorities) will, therefore, be permitted. Actually, all four of the Paulston-Schermerhorn models (Figure 1) may be seen as limiting cases for the discontinuation of bilingual education, in two cases because it is ultimately and consensually not needed (A and B) and in two because it is ultimately and conflictually not wanted, either by the subordinates (C) or by the superordinates (D).

Still more detailed typologies are those developed by Gaarder (Ms.[A]) and Mackey, 1972A). Gaarder's typology yields 54 distinctions (on the basis of several dichotomies as well as trichotomies) and pertains to "principal factors which combine to determine the socio-political dynamics of bilingualism and bilingual education." The major considerations referred to are: one people, one state vs. two people, one state; societal vs. elitist bilingualism; autonomous vs. non-autonomous ethnicity; assimilative vs. pluralistic policies; limited vs. extensive monolingualism, stronger vs. weaker language; and vernacular language, regional language vs. language of wider communication. Gaarder's scheme "is meant to demonstrate that 'bilingualism' and 'bilingual education' mean many essentially different things. If it were extended to show all combinations of the attributes listed for each language, there would be several times the...types noted. A further extension to include the pedagogical components of the bilingual school itself would produce thousands of types." Since space does not permit discussing all of Gaarder's parameters only a few examples of its potential utility will have to suffice. Unlike either Spolsky or Paulston, Gaarder recognizes (as does Fishman, 1976A) that bilingual education does not inevitably need to be in an inter-ethnic context. Much Irish, Welsh and Jewish bilingual education involves *one group only* with an established need for, or interest in, or attachment to two (or more) languages. In addition, Gaarder recognizes that bilingual education does not need to be only a compensation to the poor, to the down and out, but rather, that it can be elitist and distinctly advantageous in nature. Most of Gaarder's other parameters pertain primarily to resource factors such as cultural autonomy, power differentials and the functional positions of the languages in question. All in all, Gaarder's typology is uniquely informed in terms of societal and political-economic considerations on an international basis, and, therefore, likely to provide a novel perspective for American bilingual education. The fact that Gaarder argues from his typology that bilingual education is inherently dangerous for the language-and-culture maintenance of marked populations (in the "two people, one state" context) must make American bilingual education specialists take it all the more seriously.

Only a large scale empirical effort to collect substantial international data on bilingual education could enable us to conclude whether Gaarder's typology makes only distinctions that are *functionally* there (and whether it makes all such) or whether it also attempts some that are more theoretical than real. Since so much of American bilingual education is Hispanic and Native American in ultimate orientation, it might be desirable to approach the various typological schemes not only with them in mind, but also with such others as Gypsies, Filipinos, Chinese and Hasidic Jews in the U.S.A., as well as with Irish, Soviet-Lithuanian, Singaporian, Jordanian, Israeli, and Pilipino bilingual education abroad, in order to determine what it is exactly that each typology contributes to our understanding of what is wanted/done in each case.

Mackey's typology (1972A) is even more "multicellular" than Gaarder's, yielding 90 different patterns of bilingual schooling. However, it is conceptually a much more parsimonious schema than is Gaarder's, being based upon the interaction between (a) 10 curricular patterns and (b) nine contextual settings. The curricular patterns involve the following distinctions: single vs. dual medium; transitional vs. maintenance orientation, cultural vs. irredentist emphases and rapid vs. gradual change goals. The contextual settings recognize home, school, region ("area") and country ("nation") in various degrees of agreement/disagreement. Even with 90 cells Mackey cautions us that several other variables (linguistic distance between languages, cultural distance between languages, international language status, etc.) could be added to this typology, bringing the resultant number of cells into the thousands (4500 in fact). This is exactly what obtains from combining his 1970 typology of bilingual education settings with his 1973 typology of bilingual education classrooms. Certainly, Mackey's awareness that home, school, region and country are often not in agreement as to which language is dominant ("unmarked") must be given careful attention. There are, indeed, settings in which schools are operated and staffed as extensions of national dominance pattern whereas homes (and, therefore, parents and children) reflect quite a different *regional* pattern. Mackey has illustrated this possibility very graphically (see also his 1973 formulation) and contrasted it with other possibilities, e.g. where only the homes (immediate neighborhood) are discrepant (a common American urban phenomenon). All in all, Mackey has taken the combinatorial typological approach to its exhaustive extreme.

My own impression is that typological systems such as those mentioned above can at the present time only be conceptually provocative. We will require the realism fostered by empirical data of the demographic, dimensional and populational varieties before we can tell how they should be collapsed or expanded. The currently available parsimonious models are probably too limited to provide for all parameters that are of theoretical interest and, therefore, guilty of "lumping" errors. The currently available detailed models are certainly too refined and guilty of (hair-)"splitting" errors relative to the sparcity of available or even attainable data.

Greater theoretical explicitness plus more *empirical data* are required before typologies of bilingual education can be helpful to either practitioners or researchers.

Empirical Studies of Social Dimensions

Very few societally oriented empirical studies have been *dimensional* in nature, that is very few have focused upon particular social parameters and explored their relevance to bilingual education across schools and/or across communities. This is not to say that societal factors have not received considerable attention, for they have, but this attention has most frequently been given in connection with *single school* or *single community* studies, rather than in studies that are primarily dimensional. This is a serious deficiency in that it is currently very difficult to know how to interpret individual school or community findings in terms of the generalizability or typicality/atypicality of their data.*

The most exhaustive dimensional analysis of bilingual education is the recently released *Report of the Committee on Irish Language Attitude Research* (1975). The degree to which Irish was/is a medium in education is one of many predictor variables investigated in conjunction with such criteria as Irish language aptitude, use and attitudes. In addition, the degree to which it is felt that Irish *should be* a medium in education is also a criterion variable and other dimensions (including the above mentioned criteria) are utilized in explaining/predicting *it*. Generally speaking, extent of bilingual education (number of years as well as intensity of Irish as a co-medium during those years) was found to be an extremely important factor in accounting for Irish aptitude, use and attitudes; indeed, it would seem that it was fully as important as either preschool (home/community) or post-school experience with Irish. Nevertheless, the extent of bilingual education alone was never a sufficient predictor in and of itself, and truly good prediction of Irish aptitude, use and attitudes always required preschool and post-school (including ideological) variables. The latter were the most powerful predictors of the desired degree of

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** In the light of this fact, Macnamara's (1974A) and Mackey's (1977) warnings about extrapolating from one bilingual education setting to another must be taken seriously. However, they must not be interpreted as demonstrations of any logical impossibility of deriving guidance from one ideographic study for cautious use with another (or of deriving stimulation from ideographic findings for further nomothetic research). Certainly, each community/school is "determined" in its own fashion and that determination can only be studied exhaustively in its own terms. However, even then wisdom dictates that as much relevant nomothetic information as is available and as much ideographic similarity as is recognizable be put to use in initially attempting to understand, organize or study any new ideographic case.*

utilization of Irish as a medium for the future, but here again a variety of preschool and post-school demographic variables proved to be indispensable.

Another dimensional investigation, that of Fishman (1976A), yielded findings that are quite commensurable with the Irish survey. Factors dealing with the school-community and their support for both of the languages involved in bilingual education were the most powerful predictors for two of the three criteria studies: absolute and relative academic success. (Program-defining factors were most predictive for the third criterion: student satisfaction.) Thus, in connection with academic success, it proved to be of utmost importance whether community groups, authorities and organizations fully and actively supported the programs. Such support was requisite for both the marked and the unmarked languages, rather than for one or another alone or even primarily. On the other hand, in connection with student satisfaction, a particular curricular pattern seemed to be most effective, namely, one in which the marked language focused upon ethnically more-encumbered subjects (marked literature, marked history, marked culture) whereas the unmarked language was focused upon ethnically less-encumbered subjects (mathematics, natural sciences). Not only can the need for balanced community support and the need for curricular focus (or unbalance) in a particular direction be a source of tension in itself, but the particular kind of curricular focus indicated may not be as possible in some sociolinguistic contexts as in others. Thus, if we consider bilingual education as an international phenomenon that commonly involves English or French (and, more rarely, Russian or some other language of wider communication), it is clear that in the English/French mother tongue worlds, and in much of the former Anglophone/Francophone colonial world, English/French are still the unmarked languages of education. The introduction of marked languages (vernaculars or other nonvernaculars) into the educational process via bilingual education and the focusing of these upon their related ethnic domains would seem to represent a pattern making for optimal student satisfaction. On the other hand, in settings in which English or French are themselves *marked* (Scandinavia, Latin America and, in the future, the Philippines), and where they might nevertheless be focused upon ethnically less encumbered subjects (Fishman, 1977C), such focus seems to result in greater ambivalence (Implied lack of modern indigenous sophistication?) than when they are focused upon their own ethnicity ("as befits a marked language") and the local unmarked language is therefore utilized for math-science instruction.

Be this as it may, and it admittedly merits further exploration as a truly intriguing contextual issue, it should be stressed that not only is a combination of predictor factors again necessary (as in the case of the Irish study) if optimal prediction of *any* criteria is to be attained (and it should be noted that rather good cumulative multiple prediction is possible, regularly reaching into the high 70's and low 80's), but that such prediction quite regularly calls upon both marked and unmarked language/community factors

to an astonishingly equal extent. As a result, it could be concluded that programs that attend to either one at the expense of the other are neglecting half of the variance that is crucial in predicting criteria that are of considerable interest to them and to the field in general. Given the criterial importance of community and other sociolinguistic considerations in both the Irish study and Fishman's study it would appear that societal factors are not merely "interesting" or "enlightening" for an understanding of bilingual education but that they represent powerful forces governing the success and failure of such programs. Indeed, they might be interpreted as meaning that "in the large," when viewed across many schools, communities or even nations, sociolinguistic factors may require prior attention and manipulation before such fine-grained considerations as instructor, curriculum and methodology characteristics can truly come into their own. This may well be the major contribution of the developing sociology of bilingual education (Fishman, 1976A).

Among other socio-dimensional studies, much smaller in coverage than either of the foregoing, that of Spolsky (1974), deserves to be mentioned. In a study of 81 schools with a major enrollment of Navajo children he demonstrated a correlation of .55 between the average English language score of students in a school and that *school's accessibility to off-reservation towns*. Spolsky also compared the average reading scores of the BIA schools and the public schools (both of which are attended by large numbers of Navajo children) and again traced the difference (in favor of the latter type of schools) to the accessibility factor, even when the schools were in the same locality. "The public schools serve the immediate neighborhood and the area along the paved roads that lead to it, while children at the BIA schools come from many miles away. And not just miles of road: usually unpaved or unformed roads and unbridged washes, make a BIA school much less accessible to its pupils' homes" and, presumably, those homes to off-reservation towns. Under circumstances where school and home cannot be cooperatively interrelated, and, what is more important, *where the unmarked language of the school cannot make available new role-relationships (not even transactional roles) to its learners*, even the mighty English language has difficulty "catching on." Certainly, we find demonstrated here the importance of a dimension (access to new unmarked language roles) which merits consideration in future typologies or dimensional analyses on the one hand, and in future individual community/school studies, on the other, at least where non-urban populations are involved. (See also Cooper's study [1976] for data on the importance of roads for the spread of Amharic.) We lack focused dimensional studies of this kind and it is a lack much to be regretted, since what manifests itself as a reflection of physical distance is subject to *various* social (role?) and psychological (identity?) interpretations and only further study can help us choose between them knowledgeably.

Local School-and-Community Studies

Just as the Irish Language Attitude Study is the major exhibit, to date, with respect to large scale socio-dimensional focus, so Cohen's Redwood City study (Cohen, 1970, 1975A) deserves special attention when we turn to the social context for bilingual education among delimited populations. Many different social dimensions are investigated in Cohen's study (educational level of head of household, occupational level of principal wage earner, total family income, parents' desired country of ultimate residence, parental visiting pattern vis-a-vis country of ethnic origin, parental language proficiency, parental language attitudes, etc.). However, most of these variables are handled as community background descriptors, with the last-mentioned being a criterion ("dependent") variable--one which Cohen's experimental efforts attempted to influence. Cohen's purpose, in true experimental fashion, is to equate his experimental (bilingual Spanish-English education) and control (monolingual English education) groups on all of the descriptors. As a result, he does not ask whether these dimensions themselves were in any way *naturally* related to the outcomes that he reports. His design is such that only absence or presence of exposure to the *experimental (classroom) program* is available as an explanation for any differences between his two groups of subjects. Thus, although he reports distributions along several community and parental dimensions, he cannot evaluate the predictive power of these dimensions. He does find that the experimental program had (the desired) impact on the experimental students as well as on their parents, but not whether or which parental or community factors helped or hindered in the process. A higher order analysis of variance/covariance design could have accomplished both ends, but would have required a much larger sample than that which Cohen was able to study. Longitudinal controlled experiments are extremely difficult to conduct at any rate, and to increase their sample sizes so as to *evaluate* social dimensions as well (rather than merely treat them as background) requires additional manpower and funds beyond what an individual investigator can mobilize on his own.

Several other studies have been reported which focus so squarely on a *particular* population and *its* views of bilingual education that social dimensionality is lost sight of very much as in the case of Cohen (1975A) above. Thus, Campbell, Taylor and Tucker (1973) studied both English-speaking and French-speaking teachers (in Montreal) as to their views about French taught as a second or foreign language and French immersion programs. Both groups of teachers agreed that the traditional second/foreign language program failed to provide Anglophone children with either a firm hold on the French language or sensitivity to the cultural heritage of its native speakers. Nevertheless, the two groups of teachers did *not* agree either on the attainments or on the desirability of *immersion* programs, the English-speaking teachers being decidedly negative toward them and the French-speaking teachers positive.

Such findings should remind us that bilingual education pro-

grams of *whatever* kind can stir insecurity feelings among traditional teachers (and among administrators, parents and pupils as well). Such feelings are part of the social context of bilingual education--particularly when it is at its earliest--and may well determine its local success or failure. Once again, the lack of social dimensionality in this study leaves us in the dark as to whether teachers' age, sex, job-security, area of specialization or any one of several other possible social-political-ideological dimensions tend to account for the findings reported within each language group, above and beyond the obvious ethnic differences between them.

This problem of interpretation is more successfully avoided by Frasure-Smith, Lambert and Taylor (1975) in their study of English-speaking Canadian parents who elected to send their children to primarily French medium schools and French-speaking parents who elected to send their children to primarily English medium schools. Their study examines in some detail the ethnic identity patterns and motivations, not only of those parents who did send their children to schools primarily in the "other language" but also of parents (living in the same communities) whose children attended schools where the home language was used as the sole medium of instruction. Although all parents agreed as to the current and future benefits of bilingualism in occupational and educational matters, only particular kinds of parents decided to actually guarantee their children's bilingualism by sending them to schools conducted primarily in the "other" language. While the two sets of parents differed primarily on attitudinal grounds rather than socio-demographically (again, because they were selected from the same communities, i.e. so as to minimize socio-demographic differences), there were also some interesting experiential differences between the "cross-over" and the "non-cross-over" parents. The "cross-over" French-speaking parents were most frequently born *outside* of Quebec and spoke significantly more English. Similarly, the "cross-over" English-speaking parents were more frequently born *in* Canada (and, particularly, in Quebec) and spoke significantly more French. (This last was also true for Anglo parents sending their children to a French immersion program in Ontario [OISE, 1973]). Thus, the types of schools that these parents selected for their children were, in both cases, reflections of their own early (and seemingly positive) socialization experiences with the "other group."

Clearly, various types of parents will perceive different costs and rewards associated with bilingual schooling. Decisions in this connection, furthermore, have implications for relationships within the family as well as for the establishment of networks of social relationships within the community and between communities. Thus, in the Garvey school district (Rosemead, CA.) Cohen (and Laosa) (1975) found hardly any Spanish dominant or Spanish-only students among Mexican-Americans. Nevertheless, both sets of parents seemed convinced that "a real language problem" existed. Anglo parents may actually have desired more Spanish facility for *their* children

and Chicano parents, even more English (and Anglo) facility for theirs. For all of these reasons, the few social dimensions that Fraser et al built into their study would seem to be doubly important and promising in enabling us to appreciate the social context that influences such decisions rather than merely the outcomes of the decisions themselves. More such societal dimensions built *into* (rather than controlled *out* of) studies would doubtlessly yield even more revealing results. Mougeon (1975) has included a large number of societal dimensions in his socio-linguistic surveys of two French Canadian communities in Ontario (one of which is engaged in bilingual education). His findings should prove to be of considerable interest for the future planning of bilingual education in such communities.

Inter- and *intra*-communal dimensional analyses are brought together by Ramírez (Ms.). He strongly suspects that the paucity of prior socio-cultural information concerning the Chicano parents and pupils involved in most U.S. bilingual education programs leads to the imposition (by Anglos) of compensatory bilingual education where maintenance-enrichment is actually desired by parental and other minority ethnic community groups. Indeed, the major contribution of social dimensionality research to bilingual education may well be to identify the out-of-school functional-institutional bulwarks of bilingualism such that bilingual education can prepare students for participation in them, thereby avoiding the double alienation and marginality that compensatory education has been said to foster, regardless of whether it is monolingual or bilingual (Carter, 1970; Gaarder, 1970).

Both growing disenchantment with compensatory bilingual education in the U.S.A. (anticipated by Gaarder, 1970; Kjolseth, 1973; Fishman, 1976A; Macías, 1973; Seda, 1972; and now confirmed by Ramírez, Ms.) and the possibly growing enchantment with immersion bilingual education both in Canada and America (see Cohen and Swain, 1976; Morel, 1971), deserve to be analyzed in social dimensional terms, even if strict academic comparisons are not (or not yet) possible. Although the data for such an analysis is not yet available, the argument that has been gaining momentum seems to depend very crucially on a small number of major societal dimensions of a non-academic nature. It claims that immersion bilingual education has been made available primarily to children from socio-politically powerful backgrounds, whose mother tongues are not only intact in their homes and neighborhoods, but more importantly, also in their basic socio-political power bases in the economy, in general culture, in national government, etc. Coming from academically favored homes and from socio-culturally advantaged backgrounds, and, it should be pointed out, also generally coming to immersion bilingual education as willing volunteers, there would seem to be little ground for surprise that the academic, linguistic and socio-attitudinal results of immersion bilingual education have been as favorable as they have been found to be (see Swain and Barik, forthcoming; Cohen and Swain, 1976; Cohen, 1976A). Noblesse oblige is a favorable point of departure for any kind of enterprise, particu-

larly if, as in the Anglo-Canadian case, it also results in the acquisition of an "insurance policy" relative to another language and culture apparently rising in local socio-political position. At any rate, immersion education seems to succeed exactly in those contexts in which we would expect *any* educational endeavor to be relatively successful, namely, when it has everything going for it politically, socially, academically and motivationally. Indeed, where some of these pluses have been removed (e.g., as when immersion bilingual education has been implemented with lower class, socially dislocated (im)migrant children in the U.S.A. whose socio-political and academic strengths are much more questionable), its Montrealian and Toronto-Ontarian outcomes have quickly disappeared (See Cordasco, 1975; LaFontaine, 1975; Carter, 1970). Perhaps some of Macnamara's earlier results (1966, 1967) may be viewed as deriving from bilingual education (some of it of the immersion variety and some not) in which many if not most of the positive factors indicated above have been absent.

Turning now to the bulk of American compensatory education, it is clear that as far as its social dimensionality is concerned it stands at the opposite pole from the most favorable circumstances from which immersion bilingual education has repeatedly benefitted. Those whose children are assigned to it (Note: Perfunctory parental *permission* is not the same as parental *initiative* to get their children into a program for which there are more applicants than vacancies.) are from communities distinctly lacking in socio-political power; their mother tongues have few recognized or supported institutional functions (sometimes not even in the pupils' homes/communities) and the students involved largely hail from home and community backgrounds that would be regarded as "multi-problematic" in nature even were all of their education to be in their own mother tongues. As if such contextual factors were not sufficiently discouraging to begin with, compensatory bilingual education alone is punished for any success it may experience. Thus, if it does *not* succeed in improving the English mastery of those assigned to it, it would necessarily be called to task, and discontinued since such improvement is its major avowed purpose (Comptroller General, 1976). However, should it succeed in this restricted task, then it would be discontinued purportedly as being no longer necessary. The result may well be a species of the "double bind" so well known in the etiology of schizophrenia, with compensatory bilingual education characterized by not having enough leverage or opportunity with respect to the dominant (Anglo-) society in order to successfully negotiate progress toward economic-social-political status roles for its clientele, on the one hand, and then, in addition, not having enough of an economic-social-political base within its own ethnic environments to foster real respect, mastery and attachment to the ethnic mother tongues either. Add to the above dimensional prognosis the fact that American compensatory bilingual education is primarily offered to racially (physically) identifiable minorities (that definitely *not* being the case in the Anglo-Canadian immersion experiences), and we come even closer to appreciating the

"no escape" nature of the problems faced by those exposed to it.* It may offer them neither any real societal opportunity to progress in and through English, nor any real opportunity to maintain a viable community in the context of their native heritages. Certainly, dimensions such as the foregoing fully support Campbell's low-keyed conclusion (1970) that the success of language education depends far more on social-contextual than on applied linguistic considerations.

The Demography of Bilingual Education

It would probably be too much to expect that case studies of bilingual education will ever be sufficiently plentiful for a demography of this phenomenon to arise out of its ethnography. As a result, demography must be tackled in its own right, as yet another approach to understanding the social context of bilingual education. Demographic studies ask how widespread a phenomenon bilingual education is, where it is encountered, under what auspices (public, private) it is conducted, whether it is spreading or contracting, which languages are employed as media (for which subjects and in which grades) and whether this allocation has been stable or changing over time, etc. Unfortunately, we have only the very beginning of such social bookkeeping, even for such relatively orderly and non-secretive educational environments as those of the U.S. and Canada.

One distinctive contribution of demography is that the breadth

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* *"I maintain that the proper goal of federally-supported Bilingual/Bicultural Education Programs is precisely that stated in the OE staff paper cited in your letter--namely, 'to enable children whose dominant language is other than English to develop competitive proficiency in English so that they can function successfully in the educational and occupational institutions of the larger society.' What we know about the educational process tells us that the most effective and the most humane way to achieve this English language competency is through a Bilingual/Bicultural approach." (From a letter by former Commissioner of Education, Terrell H. Bell, dated November 15, 1974, to Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico, Defensa, 1976, no. 1, p.18.) Compared with Teddy Roosevelt's 1919 dictum ("We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house." [Horner, 1975]), Bell's is far more soft spoken but the difference between them is basically non-substantive, as Braun, 1975 amply reveals. The* Comptroller General's Report *specifically rules out cultural pluralism as counter to the intent of Congress (1976, p.58). Kloss (1975) dubs such efforts "organic assimilation" and characterizes them as "humane assimilation."*

of its scope makes it easier to discover gaps in perspective (intellectual blinders) that may be more difficult to recognize when micro-studies absorb all of one's attention. Of course, this approach, just as any other, fosters its own peculiar set of blinders ("all forest and no trees"), but were it not for this level of analysis certain matters would be even more completely overlooked than they are, e.g. the auspices under which bilingual education is conducted (public vs. various kinds of "private," e.g. church related, proprietary, etc.). That this is no minor gap in perspective is evident from the fact that as of 1960 Fishman and Nahirny (1964, 1966) estimated that there were approximately 2000 U.S. ethnically affiliated schools. A study of a 15 percent sample drawn from this universe revealed that over half of these schools engaged in mother tongue instruction. In the latter group, the proportion actually teaching via the mother tongue was very high, particularly in the schools of certain ethnic groups (Greeks, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Jews re: Orthodox All-Day Schools). Even more interesting is the fact that far in advance of the ethnicity boom (which began in the very late 60's or early 70's), a goodly proportion of all ethnically sponsored schools reported that they were planning to intensify, improve or introduce mother tongue instruction. Certainly, this is worthy of follow-up today (e.g. to find out how private ethnic schools have been affected by public bilingual education), just as the entire universe of ethnically sponsored bilingual education is deserving of recognition within research efforts in this area. We may well be leaving out more than we are including by failing to take into account the longest continuing tradition of bilingual education in the U.S. Certainly, we are misrepresenting both the history and the dynamics (including the accomplishments) of U.S. bilingual education by doing so.

Since his initial study in the early 60's Fishman has followed up only one of the American ethnic groups' studies in the original Fishman and Nahirny research. In connection with Orthodox All-Day Schools (Table 1), all of which employ English as the medium for general ("secular") instruction and either Hebrew, Yiddish, or Hebrew and Yiddish for instruction in Judaic studies, he has found that their growth has continued unabated. Nevertheless, whereas originally those schools teaching Judaic studies in Yiddish (or in Yiddish-and-in-Hebrew [Fishman, 1973B]) were increasing rapidly (a 168 percent increase from 1952-53 to 1960-61, i.e. a rate seven times that of schools teaching Judaic studies only in Hebrew), their more recent rate of increase has been less than a third of that experienced by schools utilizing only Hebrew as a medium of instruction in Judaic studies (Fishman, 1973A). Similar statistics could be derived from the official yearbooks and handbooks of other U.S. ethno-religious groups--and the internal dynamics of these groups would be much clarified thereby--but unfortunately this entire area of research is being sadly overlooked at the very same time that ethnicity research in the context of intergroup conflict continues to mushroom.

Table 1

Orthodox All-Day Schools (OADS) in the U.S.A. Employing Hebrew or Yiddish as Media in Judaic Studies (JS): 1952-53, 1960-61 and 1970-71

(from Fishman, 1973A)

	School Year	*Total Number of OADS*	*Hebrew Only as Medium in JS*	*Yiddish only or Yiddish and Hebrew as Medium in JS*	
A:	1952-53	144	119	25	(17%)
B:	1960-61	213	146	67	(32%)
C:	1970-71	307	228	79	(26%)
	Increase				
	A - B	69 (48%)	27 (23%)	42	(168%)
	B - C	94 (44%)	82 (56%)	12	(18%

If *national* and regional* demographies of bilingual education are sadly lacking, it should come as no surprise that an *international* demography of what is certainly an international phenomenon is even farther away from immediate realization. Nevertheless, a beginning in this direction has been made by the *International Study*

** The regional allocation of the nine* Lau Centers *and the designation of the areas they are to serve certainly reflects a demographic concern (and probably demographic data that has not been disseminated) on the part of the Office of Education. The region to be served by any Center is related to the clustering of "non-English dominant" students rather than to pro-forma statewide assignment. Thus, two different centers serve the state of California (one in the north and one "south of the northern boundaries of San Luis Obispo, Kern and San Bernardino counties") whereas the entire northeast is served by a single Center located in New York City. Publication of the underlying population estimates for these allocations would be highly desirable and might foster more exact estimates in the future. The estimates derived from the July 1975* Current Population Survey *(Waggoner, 1976) do not provide state-by-state figures nor do they deal with more than selected European and Asian languages. Data on additional languages and state-by-state figures might be forthcoming from the* 1976/77 Survey of Income and Education. *Just such data were reported for the 1970 census and these revealed that only five languages (French, German, Polish, Italian and Spanish) had at least 250,000* American born *claimants, i.e. a possibly sufficient number of school aged speakers to "justify" language maintenance bilingual education efforts.*

of Bilingual Secondary Education (Fishman, 1976A). All in all, the Study located some 1200 secondary bilingual education units, even though it was generally unable to receive per unit responses either from Arab Bloc or Soviet Bloc countries, and even though replies from Third World countries were often beset by postal service problems. Given these limitations, there might easily be twice that number of secondary bilingual education units throughout the world at the present time. Furthermore, given the continued relative infrequency of secondary education per se in most countries outside of North America and Western Europe (which account for a third of the secondary units located), a defensible conclusion would be that if there are some 2,500 to 3,000 bilingual secondary education units the world over today, then there may well be over 50,000 *elementary* bilingual education units throughout the world. All in all, therefore (and unbeknown to most American practitioners and students thereof), bilingual education is a major worldwide phenomenon. Its secondary education component is far from being insignificant and the numbers of both its elementary and its secondary units are still growing rapidly.

However, it is equally clear that bilingual education as a whole and bilingual secondary education in particular, are not evenly distributed throughout the world. There are countries in which it is exceedingly rare and others in which it is the general practice. Indeed, there are countries that represent almost every degree of prevalence of bilingual education imaginable between these two extremes. Thus, a grouping or clustering of countries would seem to be called for, in order to see if it is possible to clarify, at least somewhat, the current circumstances that tend to be related to the absence or presence of bilingual secondary education. Such a grouping, as of 1973, is attempted in Table 2 on page 28.

Bilingual secondary education is least prevalent in Category I countries and most prevalent in Category V countries. What are some of the differences between the countries of these two clusters? Certainly cultural homogeneity itself does not seem to be a valid differentiating factor between them. There are ethnically highly diversified countries in both clusters (e.g., Burma and Sierra Leone in Cluster I and Cameroon and Malaysia in Cluster V). There are also countries of great cultural homogeneity in both clusters (e.g., Australia in Cluster I and Greenland in Cluster V). Neither degree of industrialization, urbanization nor modernization more generally seem to differentially characterize the countries in one cluster vs. those in another. Indeed, it would seem that a rather complex set of considerations must be referred to, many of them dealing more with unique historical and political considerations rather than with socio-economic factors alone. Several of the countries in Cluster V are marked by rather well established diglossia relationships, i.e. by widespread and stable within-group bilingualism. The reasons for such societal bilingualism vary from the continuing impact of *classical* traditions (e.g., in much of the Arab world) through to the recent (and even continuing) political presence of a colonial power (e.g., in Cambodia, Greenland, Hong Kong, etc.). Both of these

Table 2

The Relative Prevalence of Bilingual Education in 117 Countries (as of 1973)*

Minuses and pluses are used to indicate rather more or less bilingual education than in most countries in the same category.

Cluster I (less than 1%)	*Cluster II* (2 - 3%)	*Cluster III* (4 - 5%)	*Cluster IV* (6 - 10%)	*Cluster V* (more than 10%)
Australia	Bolivia	Argentina	Afghanistan	-Algeria
Burma	Botswana	Brazil	Albania	Cambodia
Chad+	Burundi+	Chile	Austria	Cameroon
Gambia	Curaçao	Colombia	Bangladesh	Egypt
Ghana	Ecuador	Costa Rica	-Belgium	Greenland
Liberia	Finland	Dom. Republic	Bulgaria	Gr. Brit.; Wales
Libya+	Guam	Gr. Brit.; Eng.	Canada	Greece
Rhodesia	Guatemala	Haiti	Cent. Afr. Rep.	Hong Kong
Sierra Leone	Kenya	Honduras	China	Iraq
Taiwan	Lesotho	Iran	Cyprus	Jordan
West Indies	Malagasy	Japan	Czech.	Kuwait
Vietnam (PR)	Mali	Luxembourg	Denmark	Laos
Zambia	Micronesia	Mexico	Ethiopia	Lebanon
	Nigeria	Netherlands	-France	Malaysia
	Papua-NG	Nicaragua	-Germany (FR)	Malta
	Paraguay	Peru	Germany (PR)	Morocco
	Port. Africa	Portugal	Guinea	Philippines
	Ruanda	Spain	-India	Saudi Arabia
	Senegal	Thailand	Ireland	Singapore
	S.W. Africa	Switzerland	-Israel	Sri Lanka
	Sudan	Turkey	-Italy	Syria
	Swaziland	-Uruguay	Malawi	Tanzania
	Uganda	-USA	-Mauritania	Tonga

Cluster I	*Cluster II*	*Cluster III*	*Cluster IV*	*Cluster V*
		Venezuela	Nepal Norway Pakistan -Poland Romania Somalia Rep. of South Africa Sweden USSR Yugoslavia	Tunisia
n=13	n=23	n=24	n=33	n=24

Note: The country-clusters presented here are based upon *secondary* bilingual education and they may not, therefore, be equally good indications as to the demography of *elementary* bilingual education. Nevertheless, in this discussion the two levels will be considered to be generally in agreement, unless otherwise indicated. A more crucial problem is the fact that the table deals only with *prevalence* rather than with *purpose* or *quality*. Only when the latter considerations can also be handled will demographies of bilingual education have any substantial value. The clustering of states within the U.S.A., with respect to the incidence of bilingual education, might also be revealing and could probably be accomplished on the basis of published and unpublished sources (see Orvik, 1975).

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* *Changes occurring since that date would lead to the reclassification upward of Peru and downward of Malaysia and Greece.*

factors are more attenuated in Cluster I or, where present, internal political considerations have kept them from coming to the fore (e.g., Burma, Rhodesia, Taiwan, etc.). There is also a degree of peripherality to many of the countries in Cluster I. More often than not, they tend to be at the outskirts of spheres of interest rather than at their centers. Perhaps, as such, it has thus far been easier for them to impose a mono-ethnic stance upon their subsurface diversity without internal repercussions.

Certainly, the artificiality of putative cultural homogeneity is also evident with respect to the countries in Clusters II and III. Indeed, both of these clusters are marked by countries with neglected minority mother tongues. In Cluster II, there are currently faint rumblings of recognition for these languages, particularly at the elementary level of education.

In Cluster III *such* rumblings are far fainter if present at all; nevertheless, the latter Cluster reveals more secondary bilingual education of the expatriate enclave and private ethno-religious sponsorship types. Thus, the countries of Cluster II may yet achieve bilingual education within a decade or so whereas many of those in Cluster III may vacillate between decreasing it (as the expatriate enclaves in their midst shrink by assimilation or expulsion) and increasing it (as their own hitherto neglected indigenous minorities gain recognition).

Cluster IV countries are also marked by a great deal of heterogeneity in most obvious respects. In comparison to Cluster III, it contains no Latin American representation. In comparison to Category V, it includes far fewer members of the Arab Bloc and far more of the Soviet Bloc. Cluster IV, on the whole, consists of countries that have already recognized minority mother tongues for educational purposes, even in the absence of long established diglossia. Nevertheless, most of these countries have quite a distance more to go before bilingual education, particularly at the secondary level, is as common as it might yet become. The fact that many of these countries are considerably industrialized should not be overlooked and may figure in their further progress toward more widespread bilingual education for majority group children as well as for those hailing from minority backgrounds.

All in all, the relative prevalence of bilingual education within a particular country's educational system is not an easily predictable phenomenon. Many factors tend to contribute partially and independently to this phenomenon, e.g. traditional diglossia (i.e. two languages of long-established but separate local functions), the leverage available to organized minorities during periods of more rapid change, the continued operation of communication patterns of former colonial days (particularly when involving languages that really function as languages of wider communication, such as English or French rather than Italian or Dutch), and the development of enrichment or maintenance bilingual education, all seem to be important positive forces in fostering bilingual education in different settings. Oddly enough, more and more countries would seem to be characterizable in one or another of the above

terms (Fishman, 1977C), and as a result, one would expect more and more countries to be moving toward a greater prevalence of bilingual education, particularly those currently in Categories II and III. At times, bilingual education will be espoused by "minority group" or by "liberation movements" (so that additional mother tongues can be admitted as media of instruction--as has occurred most recently in Peru and Curaçao) and at times, it will be abandoned by them (as has occurred most recently in Malaysia and Greece) depending on the degree to which erstwhile "oppressor languages" can be redefined as desirable languages of wider communication and as valuable resources *after* own-language-maintenance has been attained. In the long run, bilingual education combines and serves both vernacular and other-than-vernacular functions and, as such, it has appeal to a wide spectrum of political, social and cultural movements rather than only to those of a particular coloration.

For some national education systems bilingual education is primarily an alternative option equivalent to *vernacularization* or *self*-recognition, an educational trend which began with the modern period of history and which has not yet run its course. For other national education systems, bilingual education is primarily an alternative option equivalent to *internationalization* or *other*-recognition, an educational trend which began with the earliest forms of elitist education. Since one or another of these trends and needs tends to characterize almost all segments of mankind today, bilingual education as a whole tends to progress on two fronts simultaneously, on the front of *(sub-) national* vernacular legitimization and on the front of *supra-national* wide communication. We seem to be living in a period of world history in which a larger number of local languages are being given educational recognition at the very same time that a relatively few world languages (primarily English) are also gaining wider currency. Both of these trends, disparate though they may appear to be on the surface, are contributing to the overall growth of bilingual education.

At the present time there are some two score polities in which either English or French is the usual (not necessarily the exclusive) language of elementary and secondary education, although neither of these languages is the mother tongue of more than a minor fraction of the local population (Gage and Ohannessian, 1974; Conrad and Fishman, 1977; Fishman, 1977C). These countries are not only marked by *former* Anglophone/Francophone colonial status but by *current* poverty and dependence on economic ties to their former "masters" (Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbaum, 1977). These countries, as well as those in Latin America with substantial Indian populations, are the most likely to move toward *partial* vernacularization (such as the Philippines, Algeria, Tanzania, and Peru have already done) in the near future. On the other hand, internationalization is likely to proceed most rapidly in Western Europe, North America, China and other polities with long established traditions of education via an indigenous national language. In either case, there

is likely to be even more bilingual education a decade from now than there is today.

THE PROCESS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION ("CLASSROOM DYNAMICS")

Social dimensionality must be recognized *within* the bilingual education classroom, rather than merely *outside* of it in "the community" and "in society." Societal factors dictate much of *what* is taught and *to whom*; as well as *how* it is taught and *by whom*, and finally, how all of those involved in the teaching-learning processes interact with each other. Societal factors underlie much of "what the child brings and what the school expects" (Guskin, 1976) with respect to bilingual education. Unfortunately, none of these topics has been well documented to date and the ethnography, the sociology, the social psychology and the educational psychology of the bilingual education classroom are all little more than gleams in the eyes of a few researchers. (See Cohen, 1976B; Cohen and Laosa, 1976; Rodríguez-Brown, Bruck and Cohen, 1976.)

Conceptually, we have plaintive cries for "cultural relevance" (Macías, 1973), i.e. for relating the classroom to the minority community's needs and wishes--and for giving the minority community greater control of curriculum and personnel (Read, Spolsky and Neundorf, 1976; Waserstein, 1976); plans to study the bilingual teacher's program attitudes, language skills, professional goals and community relationships (Guskin, 1975); and rationales for involving paraprofessionals in bilingual education (LaFontaine, 1971) as a means of overcoming the "isolation from community dynamics" that is so clearly reflected by most curricula and teachers. All of these may be important determinants (or influents) of classroom dynamics about which, unfortunately, there is, as yet, no data* even though the consensus of expert opinion is definitely that the school environment is of overriding importance with respect to bilingual education outcomes (Shore, 1972).

Some progress is reported by Hurd (1975), in connection with so elementary a factor as the mere availability of bilingual personnel for bilingual programs. Comparing preschool centers that

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* *"While it does not refer to bilingual education per se, the* Mexican American Education Study Report V ("Teachers and Students") of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1973) *clearly documents intra-classroom stratification in the treatment of Anglos and Chicanos, with Chicano teachers being even worse than their counterparts on the Chicanos. Chicanos here at the University continually tell me how they are singled out for more ridicule and correction than the Anglo students in Spanish classes and in classes where some of the work is done (e.g. literature) in the medium of Spanish. It would be important to know the extent to which this longstanding tendency has or has not infiltrated two-group bilingual classrooms (Kjolseth, personal communication)." Also note the discussion of inter-group relations to follow.*

had bilingual programs with those that did not (but were in the same district and served demographically similar populations), Hurd found the former to employ more bilinguals at all levels of the hierarchy than did the latter. Hurd concludes that this enabled the centers with bilingual programs to foster a different kind of interaction with both parents and pupils but admits that the latter, the crux of our concern at this juncture, really remains to be fully documented.

Politzer and Hoover tackle the common problem of which language to emphasize at the outset of bilingual education (1974). They approach this issue not only on the basis of *universals* (e.g., the fact that most children know their mother tongue better than their "other tongue" at the time that they enter school) but also on the basis of *differentials*: communities (and therefore the pupils derived from them) differ in their attitudes toward their mother tongues and their "other tongues." Politzer and Hoover conclude that initial results are best when differential attitudes are given greater attention than that given to more universal language facility factors. Lack of community attachment to the native language (at least in terms of its schoolworthiness or relatedness to the expected outcomes of schooling) and/or high integrative motivation toward the majority culture are found to favor the success of an approach that initially *de-emphasizes* literacy in the students' mother tongue, while high community attachment to the native language (defined as above) and low integrative motivation favor the success of an approach that initially emphasizes literacy in the students' mother tongue. (For a different and less contextual conclusion, based only on the distinction between school-dependent ["unmarked"] and school-independent language, see Tucker, 1975, who recommends putting initial emphasis on the "marked" language.*)

** Engle (1975) reviews this entire issue with attention to a host of methodological-conceptual complexities. This is a valuable source for locating a variety of studies with a variety of questionable outcomes. While it does consider the societal issues posed by Politzer-Hoover and Tucker (as well as others), it comes to no conclusion concerning them, other than to observe that they have not been sufficiently well or consistently attended to in the research thus far reported to enable any conclusion to be drawn from them with any certainty. Others calling for the greater social contextualization of bilingual education teaching strategies are Campbell, 1970; Fasold, 1975; and Milán, 1975. The problem of teaching strategies when bilingual education involves biliteracy in languages with widely different writing systems (alphabets, syllabaries, ideographs) and directional conventions (right to left, left to right, top to bottom, etc.) on the printed page has been almost completely overlooked in conjunction with the issue of whether or not reading should be taught first in the native language of the learner (Fishman, 1977A). Christian (1976) has commented at length on the impact that preschool literacy in the marked language would have on all formal bilingual classroom dynamics.*

Thus, delicate psychopedagogical issues, such as in which language to teach reading first, are considered in interaction with complex and variable socio-cultural factors, rather than either on ideological or on restricted professional (universal efficiency) grounds alone. Unfortunately, such research is still very unusual and in most cases we know nothing of classroom dynamics other than what can be gleaned incidentally from descriptions of objectives, curriculum, materials and teacher characteristics (Bartley, 1971). In addition, descriptions of bilingual pedagogy tend to be far too ambiguous to permit careful conclusions as to which methods lead to which concomitant dynamics or subsequent outcomes. The proper interpretation of the phrase "children taught via two languages as media" is often quite far from clear, possibly meaning half the day exclusively in each language, every other day in each, a different well-prepared teacher for each, or, as must be quite common, two languages, continually mixed, hour after hour, in alternating sentences, all day long, by a single teacher (who is almost always better prepared in English and sometimes not even literate in Spanish, as Zirkel, 1972 reveals). Under such "unsettled" circumstances, the study of classroom dynamics or outcomes is understandably primitive. At the same time as these differences begin to receive the attention they deserve, concomitant attention to cultural differences in achievement motivation (Gray, 1976), learning styles (Baca, 1976) and cognitive-affective environments more generally (Cazden and Legget, 1976) will doubtless result in an accumulation of basic information pertaining to classroom dynamics in bilingual education.

Fishman and Nahirny (1966) have reported data which may not be entirely applicable to bilingual education (since nearly half of the schools they sampled did not engage in mother tongue instruction and not all of those that did utilized the mother tongue as an instructional co-medium), but which merits follow up with respect to the attitudinal concomitants of bilingual education.

They found that teachers in ethnically affiliated schools generally claimed greater competence for *passive* language skills (understanding and reading) than for *active* ones at the point when pupils completed their ethnic schooling (Table 3). At the same time, these teachers generally reported a *decrease* in favorable language attitudes among pupils from the first half to the second half of elementary ethnic schooling (Table 4). Fishman and Nahirny interpreted these joint findings as indicative of the ethnic schools' inability to compensate for the decreasing utility of most ethnic mother tongues precisely at the age when pupils increasingly leave their familiar home and neighborhood contexts and achieve greater adolescent independence. Certainly, languages that are substantially school dependent ("marked") and without major out-of-school functions represent a distinctive problem both in terms of

Table 3

Typical Mother Tongue Knowledge of Pupils upon completing Highest Grade of Instruction as estimated by Mother Tongue Teachers in Various School Types

(From Fishman and Nahirny, 1966)

School Type	Aspects of Language Mastery								
	Understanding		*Reading*		*Writing*		*Speaking*		Total n
	Fair	Fluent	Fair	Fluent	Fair	Fluent	Fair	Fluent	
All Day	36%	22%	33%	28%	37%	14%	36%	13%	120
Weekday	32%	45%	18%	62%	41%	34%	55%	19%	73
Weekend	23%	40%	23%	40%	41%	17%	27%	30%	86
Other	35%	32%	11%	57%	27%	38%	22%	30%	37
Total	31%	33%	24%	42%	38%	22%	36%	21%	316

Table 4

Mother Tongue Teacher Estimates of Language Attitudes of Pupils at the Beginning and at the End of the Elementary School Program in Various School Types

(From Fishman and Nahirny, 1966)

School Type	Language Attitudes						
	First Half of Elementary School Program				*Second Half of Elementary School Program*		
	Fav.	Neut.	Unfav.	Total	Fav.	Neut.	Unfav.
All Day	40%	53%	7%	100% (120)	49%	47%	4%
Weekday	74%	21%	5%	100% (73)	48%	51%	1%
Weekend	65%	34%	1%	100% (86)	43%	57%	-
Other	78%	19%	3%	100% (37)	43%	54%	3%
Total	74%	21%	5%	100% (316)	47%	51%	2%

classroom and wider social dynamics for *all* of bilingual education, whether under public or private/ethnic auspices.

Mackey (1972B) reports three important views by teachers in the enrichment/internationalist binational school in West Berlin which he studied. The majority of teachers there reported that bilingual education required more preparation on their part, thus slowing down their teaching, and also their students' learning. Since Mackey's school was of a quite special type (bringing together advantaged expatriate and advantaged indigenous pupils and teachers in a program that devoted approximately equal attention to each language), it is difficult to guess to what degree his findings would be replicated elsewhere. Furthermore, teachers' *views* on the latter two dimensions need not coincide with the actual *facts* and, in addition, there is reason to suspect that not only will teacher views vary in this connection, but that these views will also vary with teacher bilingualism and with teacher effectiveness (Williams and Van Wart, 1974).

The general paucity of research on classroom dynamics probably underlies the fact that so much of the little research that we do have on this topic perpetuates the American stereotype of bilingual education as a means of compensating for (i.e. eradicating) bilingualism. We have no firm idea of how the dynamics in such classes differ from those in maintenance or enrichment oriented classes in the U.S. or elsewhere. Thus, it is in this connection, even more than in connection with either research on language planning for bilingual education or research on the social context of bilingual education, that we must be particularly alert to data from settings that are, by and large, more maintenance and enrichment oriented than is bilingual education in the U.S. as well as for data on foreign transitional bilingual education (Fishman, 1976C); Stotting, forthcoming). Research on Canadian and American immersion bilingual education, on Welsh bilingual education, on the work of the European schools, on the Chinese bilingual schools in Singapore and in mainland China, on the expatriate English and German schools throughout the world, etc., needs to be mined (or primed) so that greater contextual balance can be attained in the study of classroom dynamics and bilingual education.

NON-ACADEMIC OUTCOMES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Social science research on bilingual education has been considerably more outcome-oriented than either input- or process-oriented. Perhaps this is no more than a reflection of the premature pressures "to be useful" which may well characterize most educational research, particularly that which is related to a socially conflicted field of endeavor. On the other hand, it may well be a result of the near monopoly that educationists, educational psychologists and educational testers have thus far had on the "outcomes" field. Certainly sociologists and sociolinguists have hardly gained entry into this entire domain, both because they

have not particularly sought it (being more interested in input and in process research) and because others have preempted it.

Although non-academic outcomes will be treated here (thus providing a rational division of labor between this review and that dealing with education per se), a brief foray will be made into the academic area, in order to provide appropriate background for the sections that follow. In this connection, it should be observed that most recent analyses seem to agree that within a few years of their introduction to bilingual education, students are functioning academically in both languages at least as well as or better than they would have functioned in whatever would have been the unmarked language of education had no bilingual education been available (see Zirkel, 1972; Barik and Swain, 1974. Note, however, the possibly temporary reversals during early adolescence that have been noted by Swain, 1976A and Swain and Barik, forthcoming.) Put more broadly, there seems to be no untoward influence of bilingual education upon general cognitive behavior and intellectual performance, other factors (social class, recency of immigration, intergroup relations, political support, etc.) being held constant (Segalowitz, 1977; Lemon, 1975; Keats, Keats and Rafaei, 1976). Indeed, in a few instances cognitive benefits have been attributed either to bilingualism or to bilingual education. Thus Peal and Lambert (1962) found bilinguals to be more flexible cognitively, more innovative, more given to creative or divergent thinking than monolinguals. Although these findings have, to some extent, been replicated by others (e.g. Ben Zeev, 1975; Lambert, 1976), they might very well be every bit as much locally-historically conditioned, as were the earlier instances of negative results and they should, therefore, be subjected to further inquiry.

The above summary statement represents a revolutionary reversal vis-a-vis the findings of the 30's, 40's and even 50's, in which the absence of proper controls inevitably produced a string of findings almost all of which indicated penalties associated with bilingualism and bilingual education. Berelson and Steiner (1963) summarized this early work as follows: "Children taught two languages from the start are handicapped in both, as compared to the rate of a child learning either language alone. The difference becomes increasingly noticeable with age, to the extent that the child may have serious difficulties upon entering school." Obviously, since then, more favored populations have obtained bilingual education in the U.S. and Canada, better controls or comparisons have been utilized, and the social climate surrounding bilingualism and bilingual education has often been a more positive one. In general, there is greater realization that the factors just enumerated must not be confused with bilingual education (which has probably also improved over the past 25-50 years) or with bilingualism per se.

Actually, the disappearance of most negative findings attributable directly to bilingualism or bilingual education and the influx of positive findings require more patient analysis than they have thus far received if only as an exercise in the sociology of

knowledge and in the history of ideas. Why *did* Lambert (1967) find anomie to be one of the concomitants of intensive second language instruction (when he studied college students engaged in very demanding summer programs in which they had pledged not to use English with each other or their teachers), but why does he *not* find it now (nor do other "immersionists") in conjunction with immersion bilingual education at the elementary (and secondary) school level(s)? Is he (are they) not looking for anomie now? Is the age difference between the earlier and the current subjects crucial in connection with finding anomie, were one to look for it? Has the *zeitgeist* changed so that there is now much more social support for students intensively learning another language, particularly for Anglo students learning French in Canada, so that there would now be less anomie even among young adult learners? Is there a crucial difference, vis-a-vis the possibility or prevalence of anomie, between just learning a second language (and the frequent "play acting" which that may involve) and learning *through* a second language (and the more frequent self-expression and actualization which that may involve)? More curiosity concerning such matters is called for, and not only in conjunction with immersion bilingual education, if we are to minimize the risk that bilingualism and bilingual education might be as spuriously oversold now as it was spuriously undersold (or written off) in the past.

My own socio-historical perspective (bias?) leads me to doubt that answers to such questions can be found by better controlled experiments, which in essence, cannot explain shifts in social climate that take place across a decade or more. I would predict that every conceivable relationship between intelligence and bilingualism *could* obtain, and that our task is not so much the determination of *whether* there is a relationship between the two but of *when* (i.e. in which socio-pedagogical contexts) *which kind* of relationship (positive, negative, strong, weak, independent or not) obtains. We are still a long way from this kind of research on the socio-cognitive-emotional concomitants of bilingualism and bilingual education and, for the time being, must be grateful for the growing realization that these concomitants not only need not be "bad" but may be "good" indeed.

Language Related Outcomes

The typical American emphasis on compensatory bilingual education has led both Kjolseth (1973) and Gaarder (1970) to suspect that the most common language related outcome for the minority group child will be loss of native mastery of his mother tongue. In addition, they see no assurance whatsoever that English mastery will be correspondingly improved in view of all of the problems besetting school-based language learning among severely dislocated/disadvantaged populations. Thus, compensatory-transitional bilingual education is viewed as inevitably leading to dual-marginality at the individual level and to cultural genocide at the group level, particularly for relatively small and inundated/extirpated popula-

tions. These predictions, based upon societal and curricular analyses, have not yet been empirically validated, although both the theory and the methodology for doing so are clearly at hand (Fishman, 1972A; Fishman, 1977C) and the need for such examination grows more pressing with each passing year in which the *Lau* and *Aspira* decisions and subsequent legislation foster transitional bilingual education in order to "insure educational equity through mainstreaming." That the results of bilingual education programs *need* not be linguistically deleterious to minorities is clear from Cohen's work in Redwood City and elsewhere (1975A, 1975B) and from Weffer's study (1972) on pupils in the early elementary grades. One would expect the findings with minority group pupils participating in immersion bilingual education together with majority group students (and receiving, therefore, considerably more intensive instruction via their ethnic mother tongue than was the case in the more traditional programs reported by Cohen or by Weffer) to be even more encouraging. In any rational research economy the obtaining of such data would be assigned a very high priority. Cohen and Laosa have been (1976) comparing the marked language impact of non-immersion bilingual education on minority group children (as in Culver City). Such comparisons, too, have long been needed. What particularly seems to be needed if school-based language development is to be fully understood, is a realization that many of the cultures drawn into U.S. bilingual education differ in many vital respects from the culture of the American school. Many of the so-called "negative behaviors" exhibited by culturally different children when confronted by the grade-oriented American middle class educational establishment are functional, relevant and protective of survival within their home-and-community cultures (see Gallimore, Boggs and Jordan, 1974). This fact calls into doubt whether American schools are the most conducive locales for learning, even for learning English, for many children involved in bilingual education.

The data is less scanty when we turn our attention to the politically, socially or economically more comfortable child in bilingual education. Both Mackey's findings on a single school in West Berlin (1972B), the host of findings dealing with the St. Lambert French immersion study near Montreal and other studies pertaining to that area (see Bruck, Lambert and Tucker, 1974; Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Stanley, 1974 and most recently, Cziko, 1975 with respect to working class children), the few studies dealing with French children attending English immersion schools (Macnamara, 1974B; Macnamara et al, 1976), and the growing number of studies dealing with French immersion in Ontario (e.g. Barik and Swain, 1975; Barik and Swain, 1976; Churchill, 1976; Churchill, forthcoming; Swain, forthcoming; Swain, 1976A; Swain and Barik, forthcoming), all indicate the capacity of such children to master a second language well and relatively quickly, to the point of substantial (although recognizably non-native) fluency and fidelity and with out-of-school spillover being a reasonable usage-goal, provided immersion begins early enough (Bruck, Lambert and Tucker,

1974), is intensive enough (Swain, 1976A; Swain and Barik, forthcoming) and is accompanied by sufficient home, school and community support. When immersion takes place later, individual attitudinal, motivational and interest factors become more important. Interpersonal language skills--particularly listening comprehension and oral production--for late immersion students seem to be particularly dependent on personality factors that are related to "being adventuresome and attempting to utilize French in the community (Tucker, Hamayan and Genesee, 1976)." All in all, immersion of the socially, politically, economically secure (and, often, dominant) child produces rather good results, although it too is not entirely free from disappointments, problems and halo effects (Swain and Bruck, 1975). Nothing in society is unproblematic and there is no reason to expect immersion bilingual education--any more than monolingual education--to be so.

A more demanding approach than native linguistic competence in the marked and unmarked languages is native communicative competence across a "stylistic" repertoire range in each language. Only Kjolseth (1973), Erickson (1974) and Gonzalez-Atiles et al (1976) have suggested such mastery as a criterion for evaluating bilingual education. Thus far, there is little evidence that such a criterion has been recognized by bilingual education programs anywhere, all currently being satisfied with attainment in the school-variety alone rather than in out-of-school language varieties. Should the above mentioned sociolinguistically more sophisticated suggestion come to be of more general and more serious interest, Khubchandani's work (1975) on the elitism inherent in establishing school varieties that are excessively different from those in normal out-of-school use will doubtlessly be carefully perused far beyond its original Hindu setting. Far more research would then be undertaken on the actual ethnography of communication of schools and the communities associated with them. This is, of course, also a basic policy issue and one which links back to our earlier discussion of language planning and of decisions as to which variety(ies) is (are) school-worthy to begin with. For a pluralistic model in this connection, which *stresses* varieties distant from (rather than merely those proximate to) the written language, see Fishman and Lueders-Salmon, 1972. In general, as the assessment of language use becomes a more serious enterprise than it currently is, the distinction between *proficiency* vis-a-vis the standardized varieties and *sensitivity* vis-a-vis a communally validated repertoire range will take on great importance.

Intergroup Relations

Most American (and much Canadian) bilingual education involves not only two languages but two groups. Even if both groups are *not* present in each classroom (as in the case of most compensatory transitional programs) they *are* both at least symbolically "present" if the greater community, and if the social institutions that surround the school are considered. As a result, one logical aspect

of bilingual education which deserves evaluation is whether positive intergroup relations have been fostered. The few American studies that have looked into this matter (Steinberg, 1974; Johnson, 1975) have found that "with the exception of Title VII programs, in which guidelines specify inclusion of English dominant pupils (but note the Comptroller General's critique of this practice as leading to a dilution of attention directed toward the marked child and the marked language), it appears that most funded bilingual programs may tend to foster separation of students from the regular school program. Eligibility of Title I bilingual programs, for example, is based on English language deficiency (Steinberg, 1974)."

Quite different results are reported from Canada, both for the one group-two languages French immersion programs (Lambert, Tucker and d'Anglejan, 1973) and for the two groups-two languages English immersion programs (Macnamara, 1974B). In the latter case (as well as in Mackey's parallel finding in West Berlin), the intergroup relations in the classroom are reported as bearing out "the complete integration of French [German] and English [American] children" in terms of "best school friends." In the former case, out-of-school intergroup relations are referred to and the English mother tongue students are found to "enter French Canadian spheres of social activities and establish satisfying relationships," although, on the whole, Anglophones and Francophones are residentially separated (just as their schools are under quite separate religious auspices) and one would imagine that the total amount of intergroup interaction would, therefore, be rather small. Obviously, both within-school administrative factors and larger societal factors are crucial determinants in this area, although these factors have not yet been empirically studied.

The chasm that separates the intergroup context of the bulk of transitional U.S. bilingual education from that of the bulk of immersion bilingual education in Canada has not yet been illuminated by research nor even verbalized by researchers. Perhaps it would really be best to simply let a practitioner speak to this point insofar as a typical American context is concerned:

> The fact is that bilingual education [in the U.S.A.] is actually ghettoized somewhere apart from the total school curriculum, and is hardly ever treated as part of the total educational system. In my experience dealing with bilingual education in the field, I have been very sad to see that a substantial portion of the blame for this unfortunate state of affairs is attributable to bilingual teachers who are members of the same ethnolinguistic group as the students in question. Many of them view bilingual education like their own "little thing" and not only do they confine themselves, but also confine their students to a marginal educational structure which by itself is not sufficient to achieve educational equity. Segregation will surely sabotage the intended duality of bilingual education, and this is serious. I am even more

> terrified by the fact that bilingual education is being used in many places as an excuse to promote and justify a "de jure" segregation. In some places minority children are being bused to a central location where they are immersed in a "port of entry" program....
>
> With regard to extra-school factors that may improve intergroup relations, the picture in the American inner city is rather gloomy if we compare it with Lambert's French Canadian educational milieu. Even if our bilingual schools could offer the ideal opportunities for socialization and education that would foster mutual understanding and cooperation between the two groups, we still cannot cope with the extra-school conditions: [negative] attitudes of one community vis-a-vis the other, [widely discrepant] socio-economic levels, non-linguistic cultural barriers, etc. *(Milán, personal communication)*

All of the foregoing cannot be fully appreciated unless one also realizes that American bilingual education and intergroup relations are both burdened by the racial visibility of the minorities involved and by the exclusion and discrimination to which most Hispanic and Native American children can expect to be exposed for the rest of their lives in most intergroup contexts, regardless of what their school experiences may or may not have been with respect to bilingual education. In international perspective, on the other hand, it is clear that while nationalist and other social protest movements have influenced the *availability* of bilingual education, they have not tended to make for easier intergroup relations (Fishman, 1974B).

America's non-English speaking minorities may very well have to place greater stress upon good bilingual education and other, even more effective forms of social protest and social equalization (Read, SpoIsky and Neundorf, 1976) *before* they can afford the equanimity of stressing good intergroup relations as a goal to aim at from a position of strength. On the other hand, if the *unmarked* community comes to be an active force on behalf of bilingual education, it might very well set *its* sights neither merely at linguistic proficiency, nor even at sociolinguistic communicative competence, but at sociolinguistic communicative *performance* out of which better intergroup relations can begin to develop as a matter of unmarked concern. Although integrative motivation is an important component of all second language learning (Gardner and Smythe, 1974), only its presence in the *unmarked* child will secure the continuation of bilingual education and of bilingualism as well.*

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* *Not enough has been said here (or elsewhere) concerning the extent to which bilingual education programs may or may not also be bicultural and foster biculturism. There is certainly no necessity for bilingualism and biculturism to go hand in hand and, indeed, they*

may actually be antithetical. The common "solution" of merely translating pre-existing materials into the "other" language may not only disregard biculturality but, indeed, may actually counteract it by providing materials that either oppose or trivialize the "other" culture.

Just as "bilingual" has often become a euphemism for the marked language (thus, "bilingual education specialists" are expected to have competence in the marked language), so the term "bicultural" is frequently no more than a euphemism for the marked culture. Both usages leave aside the entire issue of expertise with respect to allocation of functions, i.e. when does one speak which language or enact which culture, this being the heart of the matter. Furthermore, these usages provide further verification of the extent to which the unmarked language/culture are exactly that: unmarked. Their unmarkedness leads to the fact that the "issue" of culture hardly ever arises in connection with them, neither when they are approached via monolingual education entirely in the unmarked language, nor when they are approached via bilingual education. This "innocent unawareness" is part and parcel of the recurring unmarked view of ethnicity as being a minority-group phenomenon alone, rather than as being a self-defining dimension of all traditional collectivities with shared putative paternity, patrimony and phenomenology. Unless unmarked populations also become aware of the ethnic component in their own society and culture, they cannot arrive at a genuine understanding or appreciation of that component in the marked society and culture. It is particularly this component (ethnicity at one level or another) that must be involved in all genuine efforts pertaining to biculturalism in bilingual education programs (Fishman, 1976B).

Among the trivializations of biculturism (i.e. of the marked society and culture) that are currently common in U.S. bilingual education programs, in addition to the complete "know nothingism" apparent in the unabashed translation approach referred to above, are: (a) thingification, i.e. the implicit definition of the marked culture in terms of "show and tell" items: tacos, sombreros, bacalao; (b) song-and-dance, i.e. the implicit identification of the marked culture with holidays or other costumed pageantry; (c) gehobenes Kulturgut, i.e. the implicit disregard of the "little" culture of everyday life in favor of such expressions of "high" culture as professional art, opera, literature; and (d) attitudinalization, i.e. the implicit definition of the marked culture as merely something to be liked, appreciated, respected (see Zirkel and Greene, 1974; Greene and Zirkel, 1974). The basic ingredient lacking in all of the above approaches (each of which can make some contribution to biculturism) is the finespun web of ethnic self-beliefs, behaviors and Weltanschauungen that are reflected primarily in intragroup life. The specification, teaching and evaluation of biculturism so defined are all in their infancy at this time (Seelye, 1975).

Student Attitudes and Interest

Cohen reports improved school attendance among Chicano youngsters in the Redwood City experimental program (1975) relative to those in the control group. Johnson reports "an atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm....The comfortable relationship between students and teachers who understand and speak their language has had a positive impact on the students, who seem interested, are attentive, and take pride in their accomplishments (1975)." Fishman's international project (1976A) deals, in part, with the prediction of student satisfaction and finds this to be most highly related to program and student characteristics (rather than to community/language or staff characteristics). From a factorial point of departure, the allocation of the *marked* language to ethnically encumbered subjects and of the *unmarked* language to ethnically unencumbered subjects was the curricular pattern most predictive of student satisfaction. Finally, somewhat related to this area of inquiry is Cohen's finding (1975A) that the self-concept and own-language as well as own-culture views of the Redwood City Chicano experimental students were more positive than were those of their controls who were not receiving bilingual education. Similar findings have also been reported for Franco-American pupils in northern Maine (Lambert, Giles and Picard, 1975), for Franco-Canadian students in Ontario (Churchill, 1976; Churchill, forthcoming), for Hispanic (primarily Puerto Rican) youngsters in Connecticut (Zirkel, 1972) and even for U.S. bilingual education efforts more generally (Paulston, 1976), although with a strong suspicion that nothing more than a halo effect may be involved.

All in all, the impact of bilingual education on student interests, attitudes, aspirations and self/other concepts has received too little empirical attention in comparison to that given the more traditional academic criteria. This is all the more regrettable since all rationales for bilingual education (even for transitional bilingual education) have much more than academic goals in mind in terms of ultimate goals. If transitional bilingual education has "mainstream" employability and socio-cultural participation in mind, then there should be research on the vocational and socio-cultural aspirations of those being exposed to it. If maintenance bilingual education has positive own-group functioning and secure biculturality in mind, then there should be research on group-identity attitudes, aspirations and overt behaviors. Cooper and Fishman (1977) have demonstrated that exposure to English for children who are native speakers of Hebrew can have a negative impact on their mother tongue attitudes. The small-power-language vs. large-power-language contrast can have many unexpected consequences in the hearts and minds of learners, far beyond language acquisition per se. One of these, as Mackinnon (in press) has demonstrated, is the fostering of a view of the small-power-language as a subject, a "school thing," rather than a live organism in a living community. Bilingual educators must be particularly sensitive to the danger of caricaturing language as

no more than "words," just as they must guard against the danger of viewing (and teaching) culture as no more than "things," a danger exacerbated by the unmarked teacher's and community's own insecurities vis-a-vis attractive, intricate and touching aspects of the marked language and culture. If enrichment bilingual education has in mind the expansion of intellect and personality via an additional window on the world, then there should be research on the cognitive and emotional aspects of such expansion. The less bilingual education is viewed as a magic compensation for academic disadvantage, the more interest there will be in its extra-educational outcomes and concomitants.

Parental Attitudes and Interests

The only aspect of bilingual education that has been even less researched than student attitudes and interests is that of parental attitudes and interests.

The following crumbs merely whet our appetites for more: Cohen reports (1975A) that over the three-year period of his Redwood City experiment, the parents of the experimental group became "more positive than the comparison group parents about the virtues of the Spanish language, not only as a means of preserving their heritage, but also for practical reasons such as enhancing their children's education and helping them to get a job." (Other indications of marked-group parental positiveness toward bilingual education are reported by Cohen and Lebach, 1974; Comptroller General, 1976; Zirkel, 1972. The last two listed studies indicate that such parental satisfaction is greater than among parents of comparison or control group children). In Wales, "a well-publicized experimental project, well-staffed and well-financed" increased "awareness and discussion of the issues involved" among adults in the community, as well as created "a sense of concern for the fate of the language and its culture (Schools Council, 1970, p. 47)." Fasold (1975A) reports that Tiwa adults (particularly the young adults and early middle-aged adults likely to have school aged children) strongly preferred a bilingual program throughout elementary and secondary education to one that was either entirely in Tiwa or one that switched from Tiwa at the elementary level to English only at the secondary level (the latter option being in accord with the 1953 UNESCO Report [1968]).

The area of parental involvement in bilingual education is far too crucial to the direction and success of such education to remain as little explored as it is at the moment. One of the most crucial and sensitive topics in this entire domain may well be parental expectations, particularly in the *marked* community, as to what bilingual education *is* and as to what it is *for*. If future disappointments are to be avoided ("Bilingual education will help us save our language.") and if unrealistic expectations are to be anticipated ("Bilingual education will insure professional jobs for our children."), parental oriented research (or better yet, adult oriented research, so as to be sure that other community members,

including teachers, are also studied--as called for as far back as 1970 by Fishman and Lovas) must receive early and intensive attention. The absence of such attention thus far is probably a reflection of the degree to which bilingual education efforts--whether in the U.S. or Canada--are not (yet) under marked community co-control or even fully responsive to marked community sentiments.

CONCLUDING SENTIMENTS

The programmatic nature of many of the above observations is indicative of the fact that there has obviously been all too little *social science* inquiry into bilingual education and that the practical implications or theoretical significance of what little there has been is still frequently far from clear (Milán, 1975). Furthermore, given the large variety of types of bilingual education, on the one hand, and the unrepresentative concentration of research on American compensatory-transitional efforts and on Canadian French-immersion efforts on the other hand, the danger of unwitting and unsupported generalizations to "bilingual education *per se*" becomes all the greater. The greatest gaps (which is not to say the most pressing gaps) are currently in the area of maintenance oriented bilingual education in the U.S., particularly as far as classroom dynamics and insofar as nonacademic outcomes are concerned with respect to pupils, parents and teachers alike. As far as practical significance is concerned, this is probably recognizable in inverse order to that in which topical areas have been broached by this report, with the documentation of outcomes being most pressing of all.

As for the "common garden variety" of American transitional bilingual education, there is a growing (but largely undocumented) suspicion that for the marked group child, it is doing more harm to native language mastery and to native community participation than whatever good it may be doing in terms of academic achievement, English mastery or participation in unmarked roles. Certainly this suspicion should receive priority attention as soon as possible. Evaluation models for broadly based *social* science (as distinct from more narrowly psycho-educational) inquiry in connection with the above matters are at hand (Spolsky, 1976; Spolsky, in press). It is a disturbing thing to say at this late date, but *there is not a single center for social research on bilingual education in the U.S. today, nor even a single social researcher* (again, in the broader sense) *whose main interest and activity this is*. The fact that some 200 studies (largely American and Canadian) are referred to in this report should not hide the fact that coordinated, cumulative, integrative social research on bilingual education is nonexistent today. This does not augur well for the seriousness with which bilingual education is taken by unmarked funding/evaluating authorities. The unmarked establishment knows how to zero-in on an issue with which it is concerned and with which it identifies its own well-being or its own values and goals. Bilingual education does not seem to be *that* kind of issue and neither the paltry

research funds assigned to it nor the lack of coordination with which these funds have been and are being spent are accidental developments. They speak volumes of "negative interest."

Two other matters are even more disturbing. One is that bilingual education might be discontinued/deemphasized if it does not "pass muster" with respect to the psycho-educational goals that have been or may be set for it, particularly insofar as English mastery and subject matter attainment are concerned. The Comptroller General's Report (1976) is already a straw in the wind in this connection and the now ongoing AIR national evaluation of bilingual education may be another. In this connection it can only be observed that after 20 years of research (and well over 100 studies) on school desegregation, only one thing is clear: That "there is much, *much* more to effective 'integration' than mixing kids from different racial backgrounds (St. John, 1975)." One of the reasons why school desegregation research adds up to so little is that so little theoretical thinking has directed the research. Another is that racial integration is not a unitary phenomenon and that actual desegregation programs usually fall far short of "integration" (Simpson, 1976).

Researchers have belatedly come to abandon the simplistic question, "Does desegregation help?" and have begun to develop and test theory concerning *conditions for effective desegregation* efforts and how students in desegregation situations *can be most benefitted*. The parallels between the foregoing and bilingual education are patent. The futility of mandated local evaluations of bilingual education, conducted without sophistication, insight or imagination, is perfectly obvious by now (Paulston, 1975). One can only hope that it will neither take 20 years for bilingual education research to "grow up," nor that the unmarked authorities (the combination of unmarked political power [education-political and culture-political] psycho-educationist vested interests, and education-industry vested interests) will decide to "move on to something new" on the basis of flimsy evidentiary protexts. As social scientists, we must have the nerve to call a spade a spade. The unmarked establishment has placed bilingual education in a position such that it can be "damned if it does" and "damned if it doesn't." If we have a moral duty in this respect, it is at least to express this truth, if not to struggle to alter it, and not to be frightened into silence for fear that our criticism will be seized upon by the foes of bilingual education in order to make things worse for it.

The final disturbing matter is the touching belief of many marked linguistic minorities that bilingual education will save their language. This it could not do by itself even if it were operating at top efficiency toward that goal, which it is not. A decade and a half of language maintenance research has conclusively demonstrated--in the U.S., in Ireland, in Wales, in Israel, in Scotland, in Friesland, and elsewhere--that the school is a rather unreliable ally of language maintenance, leading appreciably and frequently in other directions, i.e. toward the "wider" language

of the market place, of industry, of government and of scholarship. *At best* the school can only be an ally of culturally alert, culturally dedicated and culturally intact homes, of an organized and insistent marked community, of an awakened and unrelenting marked language consciousness, of a politically sophisticated marked power base. Those who want bilingual education badly for language maintenance purposes or co-purposes must come to realize that unless they assiduously preserve the life of their marked mother tongue in their own homes, in their own communities, in their own cultures, in their own social institutions, and in their own local economies, bilingual education will not only do nothing for them, it will do *less* than nothing.

From the point of view of social science theory, there need be no mystery insofar as modifying American bilingual education in more maintenance oriented and enrichment oriented directions. The initial introduction of bilingual education is itself a result of social change and only concerted social action can further change bilingual education so that it will conform with language maintenance and enrichment expectations. All bilingual education involves a societal allocation of languages to functions. In transitional-compensatory education, this allocation is decided by the unmarked group and stresses the unmarked language. In language maintenance bilingual education, this allocation is made primarily by the marked group and stresses the marked language. In enrichment bilingual education, this allocation involves honest collaboration between both groups and a more equal stress on both languages. Since language is so universally and recurringly linked to ethnicity, both transitional-compensatory and language maintenance bilingual education must constantly be in tension between their cultural and political (and between their latent and manifest) goals. As a result of these tensions, it is easy to overlook the more purely educational goals of bilingual education, but even these goals are governed by a very basic sociolinguistic truth: Without real access to real out-of-school social roles, bilingual education (and all school-based language learning, whether bilingual or monolingual) must fail. *Only real societal need and substantial societal support can make bilingual education succeed.* If the unmarked U.S. communities cannot rally such support for enrichment bilingual education, then it may be asking too much for the marked communities to do so on behalf of maintenance bilingual education. However, if the latter do not do so, no one will do it for them. At the same time, transitional-compensatory bilingual education is scheduled to "self-destruct" in the not too distant future. The only ones who will be sad to see it go will be those few who realized that it could have metamorphised into something better; into something fine for American children, marked and unmarked alike. Perhaps it can still do so.

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Viewpoints

viewpoint: Shirley Brice Heath

Social History

"May not a man have several voices, Robin,
as well as two complexions?"

Nathaniel Hawthorne
My Kinsman, Major Molineaux

A recent analysis of the implications of language theory for bilingual education notes language policy's emphasis on "matters of society and nation," as opposed to "matters of language." In formulating policy, government officials seek social and economic goals, rather than attempting to alter or confirm language customs for linguistic reasons alone (Paulston, 1974). Language planners who have been called upon to provide data for policy makers have directed their attention to two aspects of the problems of language determination, development and implementation. The first has been the quantifiable realities of the language habits of the non-mainstream classes or groups toward which the policy is to be directed; the second has been the social goals policy makers set for the "improvement," (incorporation or integration) of these groups. Often left outside the planners' sphere of attention have been the relationships of language to attainment of these goals and the differences between the self-perceived ends of policy-makers and those of non-mainstream populations. This paper makes a plea for giving attention to these aspects of what may be called *a priori* language policy, or language ideology--the self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group.* National-level policy makers and the groups

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* *The Prague School of linguistics has repeatedly directed attention to this aspect of research (see, for example, Vachek, 1964; Savard and Vigneault, 1975; LiNinyoles, 1972).*

toward which policy is directed will, more often than not, hold different self-perceptions of not only socio-economic needs and goals, but also (and perhaps more important for language policy) the roles language can and should play in achievement of those goals. It is this language ideology, at least as much as objective linguistic realities, which planners should consider in determining, developing and implementing language policy.

Proponents of bilingual education have often been confused and even contradictory in defining and explaining both social goals *and* the role of language choice and change in achievement of those goals. Consequently, bilingual education has been caught between a "cultivation approach" and a "policy approach (Paulston, 1974)." The cultivation approach, in which language specialists have directed their attention to "matters of language," derives from a historic emphasis on learning two or more languages to provide breadth of information access and to foster intellectual discipline. Within the policy approach, government officials and planners stress bilingual education to bring the culturally and linguistically different in line with educational standards and economic realities.* The first has furthered exclusivity and social and educational cleavages; the second is intended to foster equality. Within bilingual education in the United States, the absence of knowledge about language ideology behind the two approaches and among the groups involved has often led to lack of definition in policy determination and weakness of direction in development and implementation.

Bilingual education is further entangled in the prevalent ambivalence over whether we are a nation of uniformity or a union of diversity. The unconvinced ask: Has not our government and cultural history endorsed uniformity in spite of the multiplicity which military needs, labor shortage, and fulfillments of immigrants' dreams have fostered? As Fishman's paper points out, our attempts to focus social science perspectives on the erratic unstable phenomenon of bilingual education both across history and through the differently located (social and geographical) contemporary societies have not yet answered how a man is to acquire his "several voices" or how the "complexions" of man complicate societies' acceptances of these voices.

** In developing a focus for this paper, I was influenced by the excellent recent examination of theory in language planning by Paulston (1974). Theories and case studies of language planning are not reviewed here, since the "state of the art" with respect to these areas is presented not only in Paulston, but Rubin and Jernudd, 1971; Rubin and Shuy, 1973; Fishman, 1974A. For a bibliography of language planning sources, see Rubin, 1974 and periodic updates in* Language Planning Newsletter, *East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. My views on language planning and bilingual education have benefitted from correspondence and discussion on this topic with Joan Rubin.*

Fishman's paper also demonstrates a masterful grasp of the dilemma of social scientists as they find themselves caught between macrocosm and microcosm, between theory and practice, between overarching models and local research. Here as elsewhere, Fishman (1974A) has maintained a point of view with which I concur wholeheartedly: "Purposive specificity plus empirical data" are now needed more than additional theories. This is not to say that studies of microcosms of bilingual education (and bilingualism) should represent a piling up of details of every description so that researchers may say *coacevavi omnes quod inveni* ("I have made a heap of all I have found"), but that these details can and should be put to precisely the uses which Fishman suggests. They should be used not only to evaluate existing models, but to provide guidelines for developing methods and materials and to refine ideological approaches to bilingual education. It is to the ideological area that I wish to direct special attention. Specifically, I am proposing that language planners in bilingual education need to know answers to the following for all segments of the national population. What values do speakers bring to language--not just their own, but to the phenomenon in its generic sense? How do these values relate to specific estimations of the worth of one language or another? How do these estimations determine reactions to bilingual education? Fishman reviews the ideological area primarily in terms of its importance to consideration of bilingual education in current compensatory instruction in the U.S. I would urge that detailed research into the ideological concerns related to bilingual education be expanded, and that such expansion will allow us to clarify guidelines, methods and materials in the practice of language planning for bilingual education.

Most of us would now agree that language planning bears critical importance to bilingual education precisely because it begins with identification of a problem, or recognition of specific areas of society which require planned action regarding language resources. Language planning is inevitably dependent upon language status achievement--the deliberate choice of a particular language code or changes within a particular code which will enable that code to fulfill a designated purpose. Who makes this choice and how the language chosen is identified as a societal resource are crucial factors in language policy-setting from which language planning should proceed. If national or state-level polities set language policy which derives from assumptions about language(s) different from those held by the communities or groups to which language planning will be directed, the planned program will be either restructured, deflected or ignored at local levels. Language ideology must be included within Fishman's "cultural politics." I would submit that within the U.S., we know more about language planning than we do about language policy, i.e. the ideology from which policy must derive. Until our level of knowledge of the two is equalized, bilingual education will continue to be caught in its entanglement of conflicting ideological bases. Social scientists must bring knowledge about the content of thinking about language(s)

characteristic of the groups involved in bilingual education into integrated assertions, theories and aims of bilingual education as a sociopolitical program. From policy developed with this knowledge, the planning process of fact-finding, goal-setting, implementation and evaluation can proceed (Rubin, 1971).

Social scientists have resisted examination of the language ideology of communities and cultures because it represents an indeterminate area of investigation which seemingly has no bounds, and there are few empirical methods for the investigation of unbounded experiences. Historians and philosophers have traditionally been more willing to deal with these areas because they have had to make fewer claims to objectivity. However, if we are to determine language ideology, the social sciences and humanities must come together and share the materials and methodologies of both. I would like to explore two perspectives on how this may be done. My major concerns will be (a) to illustrate how a branch of history oriented to social science methodology can help provide language planners with knowledge about language ideology and (b) to point out how specific programs suffering from this lack of knowledge and the direction it can provide have evolved. Both these perspectives can be subsumed within Fishman's "social contexts of bilingual education," but they represent the *dimension* of ideology. The first perspective is that of United States social history--a discipline new to the exploration of language studies. The second is that of applied anthropology, with special attention to the experiences of this discipline in language planning in macro- and microcosmic settings in Latin America. In the final section, the discussion will consider some current methodologies, resources and proposals which may help bring the social sciences to bear in clarifying language policy in language planning for U.S. bilingual education.

SOCIAL HISTORY

Influenced by current concerns in American society, social history has emphasized fundamental human interactions, such as the family, religious communities and single economic units bound to a particular social context (such as family businesses). The inarticulate and exploited have been particularly stressed.* Using frameworks of explanation drawn from the social sciences, social historians have not only relied on quantitative data but letters, diaries, periodicals, immigrant school and press records and sources which bring to the surface for analysis attention given by individuals to larger national concerns. Elusive though these materials can be, they promise to tell us much about the psychological and social consequences of being a bilingual speaker (or a

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* *In addition to articles in the* Journal of Social History, *several recent works (Genovese, 1974; Rosenberg, 1974) illustrate the concerns of the field.*

monolingual in the "wrong language") at a particular point or place in American history. The physical correlates of these socio-psychological consequences--access or lack of access to particular jobs, opportunities for belonging to a nationalistic community effort or retaining identity in a religious-educational institution --are revealed not only through social history's narrative methods, but also through this discipline's use of the aggregate findings of the economic historian and demographer. Aggregate findings help structure the questions to be asked of social data, particularly when the census data and economic reports from which econometric or demographic analyses are drawn show relatively little about the degree of bilingualism. Aggregate data often dramatize the need for more interpretive studies to point out the processes of bilingual education and the views of various language groups toward the languages involved.

The social historian has turned to these materials not in an attempt to reconstruct periods or events, but rather to reconstruct the concerns of both individuals and groups for their places in these contexts and the role of their language(s) in these settings. Therefore, perhaps the most crucial type of interpretation available through social history is that of attitudes expressed toward languages and their speakers. Is it possible, through historical materials, to determine whether an expression of an opinion, prejudice or ideal is directed toward the speech or the speaker? Yes, through both quantitative and interpretive methods. For example, periodical articles (including editorials and letters to the editor) debating and discussing immigration during the nineteenth century can be quantified in accordance with the number and extent of references to characteristics of immigrants which presumedly made them either fit or unfit for life in America. References to cultural characteristics such as family size, religious affiliation, degree of literacy, political background, occupational expertise and language can be quantified. A survey of newspapers across social classes of readers, in different geographic areas and in different periods of history can thus provide a wide range of quantifiable data for comparative and interpretive analysis.* Qualitative supporting data are the diaries, letters and individuals' account books either advocating bilingual education or involved as participants in bilingual education. Family materials providing

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** A pilot survey of 10 national periodicals from 1840-1850 and 1880-1890 reveals that during the earlier period, language was much more frequently singled out for discussion than other human characteristics. During the later period, language was rarely mentioned. Comments were instead directed toward negative valuation of the person (laziness, willingness to settle for less, instability, etc.) However, Leibowitz (1971A) points out that during this latter period, English literacy legislation at state levels was initiated. The need for such legislation is not widely discussed in national periodicals.*

insight into generational conflict over social change and language use are particularly valuable (Wallace, 1951).

The early period of U.S. history offers a comparative perspective across time on national ideology, language planning and bilingual education. In 1776, America faced problems very similar to those of today's developing nations for which language planning and bilingual education are being proposed as solutions. As a new nation, the U.S. had to unify diverse internal populations, legitimize itself both at home and abroad, keep abreast of scientific achievements and commerce and find new markets for a modernizing state. Illiteracy and the absence of widespread state- or government-sponsored educational systems aggravated the problem of legitimizing the new nation's political system. In spite of these factors, which sound familiar from current discussions of problems in which language is recognized as a societal resource in developing nations, the United States chose *not* to initiate language planning. Numerous language policies and programs for national sponsorship were proposed; none was accepted (Heath, 1977). Instead, bilingual education developed as one response to assessment by local populations of their needs. After 1776,* plans for bilingual education varied greatly, and planners were from widely differing social classes during the first half-century.

Multilingual education was initiated for those sectors of the society which stressed internationalism through knowledge of a variety of classical languages as well as modern languages with strong literary traditions. Intellectual survival depended upon access to writings of the Ancients as well as to new scientific and literary achievements of modern European nations. Both active and passive knowledge of the ancient languages was advocated by some groups, particularly for those in legal or medical occupations, or for those aspiring to avocations of literary production.** In

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** The following summary is drawn from periodicals in the* American Periodical Series I and II *(hereafter APS) microfilm editions of all periodicals published in the U.S. during the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Writings on language in these periodicals provide perhaps the most comprehensive non-elitist view of language available from this period. Though the views of political elites are represented in the periodicals, letters to the editor and other materials provided by publishers and authors who are, at least, not clearly identifiable as members of an elite comprise the majority of content of approximately 84 percent of the periodicals.*

*** Perhaps the most vigorous proponent of a speaking knowledge of the classical languages was John Pickering, who presented his "Essay on the Pronunciation of the Greek Language" to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1818 and to the American Philosophical Society in 1819. He received support for the idea from Thomas Jefferson, college presidents, and some academy instructors (Jefferson to Pickering, July 19, 1819, Pickering, Ms.; Wright, 1943).*

addition to the classical and modern languages, American Indian and oriental languages were proposed for passive knowledge in order that American citizens might better understand universal grammatical principles (Pickering to DuPonceau, Aug. 30, 1819, Pickering Ms.) However, reading of the classical languages was primarily emphasized. As exclusively literary languages, these would extend intersocietal contact and limit intrasocietal contact (Vachek, 1964).

Recognition of this fact and of the specialization of these languages led increasingly in the early nineteenth century to advocacy of "English education" in both monolingual and bilingual schools. However, just as the literacy emphasis had prevailed in classical education, it continued in English education. Formal education settings were not viewed as appropriate for teaching students oral uses of language, except in special oratory classes. This fact seems no doubt ironic to those who argue that bilingual education should be viewed as part of today's trend toward career education, i.e. bilingual education should provide skills in speaking and understanding the spoken language of mainstream jobs. Not until well into the twentieth century was English taught in schools as either a first or second language with the primary goal of providing practical communication skills.*** Instead, English grammar was taught for its positive effect on disciplining the mind and for the conscious positive transfer of stylistic features from the literary giants to one's own literary efforts.****

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the learning of English was not viewed as a transitional state through which speakers of other languages would pass as they replaced their native tongues with English. On the contrary, English was to be an *addition*, not a replacement in the linguistic repertoire of non-English speakers. Critical to this view was the assumption that non-English

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Pickering's knowledge of "the pronunciation of the Modern Greeks" was acquired from sailors aboard a Greek ship temporarily delayed in the Salem, MA port (Pickering to Moore, July 1, 1819, Pickering Ms.). This casual acquaintance with Greek phonology on Pickering's part was known and apparently tacitly sanctioned by several defenders of the diffusion of his "Essay" to educational institutions.

*** *Private tutors and guidebooks sometimes offered this instruction. Eighteenth and 19th century periodicals occasionally carried advertisements for tutors (especially in French) willing to train young men to use the language in business settings. A typical guidebook stressing both bilinguelism and language learning for practical purposes was that of Joseph Ehrenfried (1834), who noted in his preface: "To the man of business, especially, a knowledge of the German Tongue is of the first importance...."*

**** *See, for example,* The American Museum or Universal Magazine *XII:* 41-44, 98-102; APS Reel 5.

speakers would become literate in their mother tongue; the practical needs of daily business would assure their learning to speak and understand oral English through "informal education."* If an individual were, however, not literate in his own tongue, he should learn to *read English*, and proper instructional methods should be developed to provide that skill. The teaching of spoken English for foreigners was not included in formal education, primarily because of the overwhelming emphasis on education for literacy. Moreover, students of English between 1780 and 1830 were consistently concerned about the "lack of system" in the English language; conflicts between orthography and pronunciation, and the varieties of pronunciation emerging in the U.S. were particularly troublesome. Therefore, by not offering to teach the speaking of English in formal education, schools avoided the question of which variety those who learned to speak English as a second language should acquire. (The matter of correct pronunciation was far from settled even for native English speakers.)**

Instead of active knowledge of a second language, passive knowledge and literacy skills were stressed. However, there were those individuals who realized that existing methods did not facilitate even these tasks. William Thornton, a federal city commissioner under George Washington, proposed a phonemic alphabet which he intended as a teaching aid in the acquisition of both active and passive knowledge of English. In 1795, he submitted to Washington his reformed alphabet as a "regulation of our language (Thornton to Washington, June 12, 1797, Thornton, Ms.)." Thornton was inspired to provide the alphabet in which one symbol represented one sound, because of his realization of the difficulties with which

> One Nation learns the pronunciation of the Language of another; the tedious and inconvenient manner with which Children learn to read even their parental tongue; and the impossibility of writing any Language which two per-

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* *The absence of instruction in spoken English for foreigners was frequently noted in American periodicals. Pronunciation and vocabulary--not grammar--were noted as presenting the greatest difficulties (see, for example,* Pennsylvania Magazine *or* American Monthly Magazine *I:460-63; APS Reel 24).*

** *The inability of any text, teacher or system of instruction to ascertain standards of pronunciation was frequently debated. However, regional and foreign language interferences rarely appear as topics of discussion; derision of the pronunciation of foreigners and Blacks occurs in only four articles in the APS before 1825. The dichotomy between pronunciation and spelling and the deviations between one's reading and speaking pronunciation were of much greater concern (see, for example,* The Literary Cabinet *I-12:93-94; APS, Reel 22;* The Columbian Magazine *313-15; APS, Reel 10. Carroll, 1795).*

> sons from different countries or even of the same place shall read with the same pronunciation as the speakers of that Language or even of each other *(Vol. II, Thornton, Ms.)*."

He suggested that his alphabet be sent as an American contribution to bilingual and multilingual education to developing nations which had no writing system. Washington did nothing to promote Thornton's idea, and reactions to the proposal tell us much about the period's language ideology with regard to governmental control over language. Misinterpreting Thornton's proposal for a "reformed alphabet" as a scheme for a new language, critics argued that dialects and different languages would never disappear in favor of a standardized creation.*

Positive evaluations of language diversity and bilingual and multilingual education during the first half-century of American history existed not only as a result of the widespread recognition of their practical purposes, but also because of a conscious preference of the new nation not to legislate cultural matters. The U.S. chose a "permissive" (Dozier, 1956) language policy. Both political elites and citizenry believed that the different language groups should have no outer compulsion to change their language. Freedom to establish and maintain their own schools and to preserve their languages was, in the words of one founding father, "the *only possible means*, consistent with their liberty, of spreading a knowledge of the English language among them [the Germans] (Rush, 1951)." Others felt that a unifying policy was unnecessary. When in 1820, a plan to standardize American language came to his attention, John Marshall pointed out that social and geographic mobility would "preserve an identity of language through the United States (American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres, III)." Language was a social matter, not a political one, and legislation of social and cultural habits would restrict the guaranteed basic freedoms.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, language came increasingly to be viewed as an index of an individual's morals and commitment to the work ethic. Men came to America to be free, and they should be free to acculturate to the values, attitudes and behaviors they selected so long as they understood their role in the political process and their responsibility to support it. Both immigrants and their sponsors believed that European authoritarianism was a justification for immigration. This anti-authoritarian belief helped act against any chance that a single language standard could be legislated in the U.S. Plural societies cut across political party lines, and political party conventions would never allow

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* *Thornton's diary and notebook contain clippings reflecting the critics' views. Thornton summed up his disappointment and anger through this note in his diary, "these unlettered Crones of the Washington Hive know not a difference between an alphabet and a Language (Thornton, Ms.)."*

any schemes of culture "purification (*The Nation*, LII-1346:312; LII-1348:354-55)." Thus political acculturation was extremely rapid because immigrants and their children found the political culture congenial to their needs. The U.S. egalitarian political style fostered widespread political participation and widespread diffusion of power with many points of access (see Fuchs, 1968). Legislative control over language would reduce cultural options obviously, if not forcefully. If men as individuals, or in groups, chose to exercise pragmatic and psycho-cultural controls which reduced these options, that was a different matter.*

This distinction between normative law and actual social choices was held to be an important one, as state and local legislative movements attest. Of particular interest to the social historian are these data, for here one may observe how the available knowledge about social mechanisms was at times manipulated by legislators to achieve ends that had no connection with the implications of available knowledge. (Fishman's "concluding sentiments" speak to this point in terms of the current status of both bilingual and compensatory education legislation.) In addition, the failure of political decision makers to be aware of how certain areas of legislation would affect language considerations is very apparent through study of legislative records.

The Bennett Law of Wisconsin, enacted in 1889, is a case study of the failure of even bilingual legislators to recognize a piece of legislation as a threat to a "permissive" language policy, insulting to their language and harmful to their educational and religious practices. Proposed primarily to restrict child labor, the law provided for annual, compulsory school attendance for all children between the ages of seven and 14 for not less than 12 weeks. One section declared that "no school shall be regarded as a school unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history, in the English language (Kellogg, 1918)." Passed without a dissenting vote, the law became a matter of political debate only when German religious bodies, interested in the maintenance of parochial schools, realized they could no longer conduct their schools primarily in German. The law was repealed in the legislative session of 1891, but the debates and newspaper

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** One observer has noted that this absence of specified restraints in U.S. language policy has created what has been, in fact, a repressive policy. "It is one of history's little ironies that no polyglot empire of the old world has dared be as ruthless in imposing a single language upon its whole population as was the liberal republic 'dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal' (Johnson, 1949)." Haugen (1966 and personal communication) has noted that the lack of specificity regarding language choice and change and the emphasis on "individual enterprise" in these matters have heretofore effectively precluded rule revision and protest in U.S. language policy.*

accounts provide much important data on the ideology which prevailed against a "forced" language policy. The issue of legislative edict vs. permissive policy is particularly highlighted when we realize that within the decade following repeal of the law, its principle was carried into practice in Wisconsin's parochial and public schools, and the teaching of English became the rule, not the exception, as Germans rallied to illustrate that they, as an ethnic group, had "no peculiar interests (Carl Schurz, quoted in Kellogg, 1918)."

In Wisconsin, decision makers, some of whom were German speakers themselves, were unaware of the reaction their constituents would have to formal, English-only education. They failed to consider the ideology which supported German as a particular societal resource in religious and family-community life when they carried out educational planning. This case illustrates the need to examine not only the educational aspects of bilingual programs, but also the societal dimensions represented in other institutions. Analysis of numerous case studies of the language role in community institutions may enable social scientists to provide clusters (similar to those derived by Fishman for bilingual education in nations of the world) which illustrate factors correlating negatively and positively with bilingual education across U.S. history.

Sources in social history also can help us understand the relationships between shifts in attitudes toward bilingualism and other changes in the climate of opinion. Certainly early observers believed that language practices of individuals and groups had implications for other human phenomena. For example, during the early national period, contributors to American periodicals positively correlated bilingualism with intelligence. Moreover, academics provided both philosophical and empirical studies to support this view. Perhaps most important is the fact that non-academics *believed* the positive correlation existed; Blacks and Indians, rarely praised in the popular press for other characteristics, were lauded when individual members spoke and understood more than one language. Positive valuations of bilingualism as an indicator of intelligence appear consistently in periodicals before 1850; after that date, such views rarely appear in the popular press. In the second and third decades of the twentieth century, particular languages came to be associated with "races" (used synonymously with "ethnic groups" in the "Americanization" literature.* Attempts to restrict "undesirable" immigrant influences frequently

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* *See, for example, advertisements for runaway slaves which appeared in* The Aurora *during the last decade of the 18th century; Wood, 1974;* American Magazine *(1788), APS Reel 2;* Pennsylvania Magazine *or* American Monthly Museum *I, APS Reel 24. The marked difference in reporting relationships between racial and linguistic achievements after 1850 is most evident in volumes of the "Americanization studies" (see Park, 1922; Davis, 1920; Jenks and Lauck, 1913; Bogardus, 1920).*

derived from the view that just as some races had evolved farther than others, so had certain languages. Current folk views tend to carry modifications of these notions, especially when bilingualism (or bidialectalism) is associated with "the racial visibility of the minorities involved (Fishman, 1973C)." U.S. social history of bilingual education promises to provide substantive data on how stereotypes came to be associated with not only the language and language uses of minorities, but also with the school varieties and bureaucratic talk of mainstream groups. It is this view of the school variety and its relationship to academic performance which has led to the current emphasis on performance in the school language and comparative slighting of the out-of-school varieties as well (Fishman, 1973C). Furthermore, supporters of this view often urge extension of the school variety to community environments. Implicit in this ideology is the belief that social mobility is not detrimental to the maintenance of the cultural heritage of either individuals or groups. The origins of these ideas and their relationships to current language policies are revealed through social history.

Both groups and individuals have left materials which reveal much about the cultural ecological system in which men and women viewed, experienced and rationalized their particular responses to their language and that of others in particular social structures. Though these social processes have changed somewhat through history, and some may indeed have ceased (Fishman, 1973C)., folk notions currently link aspects of language ideology to "sacred" aspects of American culture, such as national unity through language uniformity, an individual's obligation to "rise above" his environment and the progressive benefits of increasing standardization. Such folk notions manifest themselves in PTA assemblies, letters to the editor, local newspaper articles and locally-administered programs designed to "eradicate" divergent speech varieties and to give the linguistically "disadvantaged" a push toward achievement of the "American Dream." When questioned about the origin of these folk notions, their proponents maintain they are embedded in and derived from the course of American history.

Of relevance here is an aside illustrating this point and demonstrating that social science research cannot easily alter these folk notions. In 1976, the U.S. government provided funds for a program designed to "eradicate" the Gullah dialect in five counties in the coastal area of South Carolina. Arguing that teaching Gullah speakers "standard English" would increase their chances for employment outside their traditional jobs and local region, the program's supporters implicitly assumed the speakers wanted to "improve" themselves by leaving the coastal area and aspiring to other jobs. That this program could take place in spite of William Stewart's extensive work in that region, widespread reading by educators of Dillard's *Black English* and acceptance by individual schools of linguistic researchers' programs to incorporate coastal language varieties in specific classroom uses, is certainly not a promising note. Equally discouraging is the fact that state agencies in the

past six years have increasingly lauded the sea island cultures and their language varieties as part of South Carolina's cultural heritage, and policy makers apparently see no contradiction between this aspect of their cultural ideology and the *a priori* assumptions behind the "eradicate Gullah" program. When asked about the inconsistency of wishing to preserve the culture and eradicate the language, political sponsors pointed out the need for job-related language skills for the sea island residents and the "inevitable" assimilation of divergent language groups in the history of language policies in the nation. In the ideology of these policy-makers, a language variety which is communally validated, but dysfunctional for school and job performance, has no role in maintenance of the history and culture of the group. Teaching standard English to Gullah speakers would, in the view of policy-makers, have replacive values for only the language of academic and economic performance, not for the culture as a whole.

Thus folk notions maintaining that a melting-pot policy in language policy has prevailed in the nation's history can prevent decision makers at both planning and implementing levels from objectively appraising alternatives to maintenance of the school variety in the classroom and its extension to the community as well. The Gullah program illustrates that language ideology in social processes can also provide the rationale for programs designed to eliminate divergent language varieties. Perhaps extensive and intensive examinations into the social historical realities which may test these folk notions can, in a period of bicentennial fervor, make both past and present "socio*linguistic* facts-of-life ...coterminous with the *socio*linguistic facts-of-life (Fishman, 1973C)."

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

Traditionally, examination of these social factors has been the concern of social scientists directing their attention to current populations. Anthropologists, in particular, have set as their goal, description of the categories, plans and rules people employ to interpret their environment and to act purposefully within it. Language ideology is logically included in this cognitive map. A summary of how specific programs of directed change suffered from the failure of planners to realize the importance of knowing the language ideology of both national policy makers and local communities will provide a comparative perspective for current U.S. programs. This brief case study may also point out how the research of social scientists can be used at both national and local levels of language planning. Perhaps the most important lesson for social scientists to consider is the illustration of the dangers of being "caught in the camp" of either national or local level planners without having sufficient knowledge of the language ideology of either.

It is a basic requirement of anthropology fieldwork that the "natives'" language be learned. Therefore, recognition of bilingual

education begins early in a very meaningful sense for every anthropologist who enters the field and attempts to prepare a corpus of the natives' language which will enable him to take part in their daily round of living. Between decades and particularly in Latin America, when regional or national agencies have planned educational or economic development for the group in which the anthropologist was working, he soon found himself involved in corpus planning to bring the native tongues into formal and informal bilingual education programs. Realization of conflicts between the corpus needed by schools and that needed for the daily community life was immediate. Moreover, the dichotomy of functions planners and natives held for the national language became clear when planners wished to emphasize literacy in that language, and natives preferred the national language for purposes more related to their daily routines. Dozier (1956), Casagrande (1954-55) and Diebold (1961, 1962A,B) considered the nature of the contact between planners proposing bilingual education and those who would acquire a second language in bilingual programs highly significant for answering questions similar to those reviewed by Fishman in connection with U.S. compensatory education. Is bilingual education a "good" idea? Will the fact that the program is "forced" or "permissive" foster or retard allegiance to one's native language? Are those who become bilingual "cultural marginals" who must either leave the community to seek higher status and an urban environment or be ostracized from meaningful participation in communities in which use of the native language for all functions is reserved? When does migration of these individuals threaten maintenance of the community?

Because of the early specific microcosmic studies by both North and South American anthropologists (and linguists) who became involved in community development programs, a macrocosmic approach to language planning evolved in many Latin American nations with high proportions of Indian populations. From the outset, these programs were guided not by theories, but by political considerations and by regional and local situations. Many anthropologists viewed their problem in the field as implicitly dependent upon contact situations in which there was the need to develop ideological goals and to compromise conflicting ends or values. In the field, current theories were never enough to deal with community organization, formal and informal education and interactions between national bureaucracies and dependent communities; every case dictated different solutions (Tax, 1975). Initially, planners wished to "incorporate" Indians into the national life. Literacy through initial use of the native languages was viewed as the first step in transition to literacy in Spanish and to monolingual Spanish. However, regional and local concerns conflicted with this plan, and economic realities, ethnic or community allegiance and prejudice against the Indians from the larger Hispanic societies, precluded macrocosmic programs of incorporation.

Community schools, parent involvement, regional planning, biculturalism and informal education programs in which the national language was introduced for specific regional job-related skills

began in Latin America long before these topics became U.S. concerns. There is then a body of data from bilingual education situations in Latin America which has not yet been fully tapped, and though these data may, by today's standards of quantitative analysis, seem inadequate, they can point out ideological considerations necessary to language planning when the population views the speakers of "two voices" as being of "two complexions" as well.* Analysis of regional development programs in Latin America may prove more relevant in terms of drawing up plans for pocket populations and groups toward which racial discrimination is directed in the United States than conclusions from larger-scale and more homogenous populations (such as Canada and Puerto Rico).

Several Latin American nations which have gone through numerous stages of language planning for bilingual education reflect in their case studies stages, sequences and trends which the U.S. seems also to be experiencing. Though the conclusions from these cases should not be extrapolated to the U.S., the correlations between ideological premises and subsequent planning provide guidance for the American program. The absence of ideological considerations drawn from the populations in which bilingual education programs were placed led to planning which assumed goals not held by those populations. Decentralization of bilingual programs followed, to allow for programs which could be guided by local and regional concerns. Bilingual programs which did not consider literacy a primary goal evolved; school programs which drew attention to different styles of learning rather than different languages developed. National planners are slowly having to realize that language choice and change are not viewed by target populations as the critical key to social change governments have held them to be. Populations preferred informal education which would provide specific skills (both linguistic and technical) adaptable to local economic realities. The United States' current situation--one in which we find many in the job market overly trained and supremely oriented to employment incorporating literacy skills--is one which does not bode well for the bilingual who has chosen to emphasize acquisition of skills in English and literary subjects rather than development of technical skills.

A summary of the evolution of evaluations of bilingual education in Latin America illustrates a specific area for comparative

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* *The bibliography of these studies is much too extensive to be included here. However, issues of* Anuario indigenista, América Indigena *and* Boletín Indigenista *contain numerous reports of such studies. The* Handbook of Middle American Indians *(especially volume six) illustrates both the theoretical and practical contributions of anthropologists involved in community development programs. For a review of the role of North American social scientists in these programs, see Heath, 1972. A recent evaluation of the "moral dilemma" of both North and South American language planners is given by Paulston, 1971.*

analysis by U.S. language planners. The summary also suggests how local attention to ideology can help determine social science areas of inquiry which may provide methods and materials compatible with local policy preferences. When linguists and applied anthropologists initially acquired knowledge about the languages and societies of the "natives" of Latin America, they provided corpus planning for use in preparation of alphabets, primers, and later, manuals for agricultural and technical development. There was initially little competition with teachers or high-level policy makers, and little need to legitimate their empirical data-based approach to corpus planning. However, once primers and other materials for literacy instruction were introduced to the schools, traditional teachers began to feel threatened, as their roles were challenged by people of either more training (linguists, anthropologists or governmental "outsiders") or less training (i.e. bilingual-bicultural individuals from the community) than theirs.

Once this stage was reached, another threatening aspect of language planning developed. The curriculum was challenged; Indian children were not only to be allowed their own language, but also the study of their own cultures as school topics. Methods of teaching and testing were subjected to criticism by language planners, and teacher training programs attempted to bring new approaches to the presentation of materials and the testing of knowledge. Before these upheavals ended, questions began to be asked of the motives and rationales of bilingual education proponents. Nationalists pointed out the assimilationist aspects of what had heretofore seemed technical pedagogical questions: Did initial literacy instruction in the native language lead more quickly to literacy than did the direct method of instruction in the second language? Were language planners advocating use of the Indians' native tongues simply to move them more rapidly to literacy and subsequent monolingualism in Spanish? Language planners who had believed their contributions aided independent communities were now accused of being their repressors, as critics charged that acquisition of a new language made "cultural marginals" more dependent on government support than they had been before bilingual education.

Re-evaluation and national uncertainty over the ideology of directed social change has led to restructuring of language programs in various ways in several Latin American nations. Mexico now has no unified national language planning; instead regional agencies determine methods, materials and research for bilingual education. Peru has promised to move from a decentralized community approach to a national-level direction of bilingual programs through the Ministry of Education. In 1974, Ecuador announced national endorsement of bilingual education to integrate vernacular-speaking peoples with the predominant society. However, within the five-year-plan, only a limited number of children were to be involved as technical research in the languages and Spanish dialects of Ecuador was intensified in order that bilingual materials could be revised and published. In addition, technical and job-related language skills

for Indians willing to relocate are increasingly being offered by new industries. LaBelle (1975) has suggested that such informal (out-of-classroom) education, including bilingual education, will increase in Latin American countries.

An institution in Mexico, whose sponsors led the attack on formal bilingual education language planners during the late 1960's (Warman et al, 1970), provides insight into a stage of evolution of language planning and bilingual education few U.S. institutions have yet reached. The *Instituto de investigación e integración social del estado de Oaxaca* provides instruction in Spanish only, although, in the latter part of the last decade, urged the direct method of Castilianization for Oaxaca's Indian populations. Sponsors of this program charged that use of the Indian languages merely slowed the Indians' process of integration to the point of providing few realistic expectations of social and economic improvement in the foreseeable future for Oaxaca's numerous Indian groups. However, the program sponsors have in the past three years begun to include the Indian languages in specific aspects of the Institute's programs. Researchers have been directed to choose the most predominant regional language from each family of Indian languages represented, and to provide linguistic analyses in order that teachers of Spanish may point out interference points. In addition, the Institute maintains that the native oral traditions of the Indians should be saved. Attention is also being given to the type of Spanish being taught in the Oaxaca region, and bilinguals in "practical" subjects are being used to help determine choice of vocabulary items and specific phonetic characteristics of the regional Spanish (*Anuario Indigenista*, 1972). Preschools are now being added to the Castilianization program to prepare Indian children for the "culture" of the classroom. In the preschool year, students are introduced to the discipline, styles of learning, uses of language and role of textbooks which characterize classroom instruction, i.e. preschoolers will, in this preparatory year, begin to transfer their dependence upon primary personal sources of information and authority to secondary impersonal sources. Respect is shown for the native languages, and both children and parents are encouraged to view their own languages positively. Vocabulary equivalents are emphasized, and teachers are urged to give special consideration to those items for which there is semantic conflict between the Indians' culture and the Spanish life style, since the preschoolers' acquisition of Spanish vocabulary drops considerably in these areas (for example, there are few semantic equivalents in Spanish for Indian terms of family and kin). Many of these practices recently developed in Latin America seem similar to the most current suggestions of social scientists and language planners in the United States. Social scientists are working at both national and local levels to gain more insight into cognitive styles and their correlations with language varieties, to provide viable transitions from community to school and to produce materials (including texts and tests) to reflect a wider range of communicative competence than that now accessible to evaluation by both teachers and

tence than that now accessible to evaluation by both teachers and testing instruments.*

RESOURCES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Taking Fishman's reference to "conceptual plaintive cries" as a subtle call for "no more now, please," I have attempted to use this response to his review as an opportunity to illustrate data sources and research perspectives which can support my plea for more attention to ideology in language policy. It is ironic that in a paper in which he was called upon to review the state of the art, Fishman seems to be saying that what U.S. bilingual education may need is less reviewing of what has been done and more previewing of what can be done through more purposeful and specific research.

To encourage a positive active focus to apply to the social science perspectives on bilingual education, I submit methodological areas useful for clarifying language policy.

Ethnography of Communication

By definition, the ethnography of communication necessitates a specialized and localized approach to language planning (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Bauman and Sherzer, 1974). Who uses which language for specific functions is a question which, when answered, will affect the content of not only tests, texts and other teaching materials, but perhaps most important, styles of teaching for particular classroom populations. How language functions correlate with cognitive processing is an as yet relatively unexplored area (Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974), toward which methods of ethnography of communication and cognitive linguistics should increasingly be directed. Settings for this research include, as Fishman has suggested, not only classroom interactions, but also analysis of speech acts between parents and children, and between specific communities and representatives of external institutions. At present few studies using methods of ethnography of communication are available for use in language planning in bilingual education (exceptions are Philips, 1970 and selections in Cazden, Hymes and John, 1972). Anthropologists interested in education should provide an increasing number of these studies now that the ethnography of communication is emerging from a period of essentially philosophical and programmatic debates over definitions of communicative competence (Borker, 1976; Hymes, 1974). Both the guidelines and

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* *At the suggestion of social scientists, language planners in the Southern Regional Conference are considering sponsoring a wide-scale investigation using the methods of ethnography of communication in classrooms in which bilingual education of various types goes on (J.B. Carroll, personal communication, May 1976).*

legal rulings related to bilingual programs point out the need for not only methods which incorporate findings from the ethnography of communication, but also tests which will reflect the language competence of the student in his home community.*

Social Impact Assessment and Social Science Organizations

Primarily related to the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) and ensuing guidelines, social impact assessment (SIA) is designed to predict and evaluate the social effects of a policy, program or project which proposes to inject technology into the environment (Wolf, 1974). The Office of Technology Assessment has sought the advice of social scientists in determining social factors which can be quantified or empirically identified in order to be taken into account in impact studies. Under NEPA, social scientists have heretofore been concerned with predicting the consequences of purposive governmental intervention chiefly when technology is likely to affect all components of the environment *except* living man. However, some social scientists are now calling for social impact assessment for governmental intervention programs affecting the social well being of living populations. Very much unresolved now, the relationship of social scientists to social impact assessment and the possible extension of assessment to social intervention programs are developments which bilingual education policy makers and planners should follow carefully.

A Center for Applied Social Sciences

The idea for a center for applied social sciences developed out of attempts to deal with questions of how social scientists could play a part in social impact assessment. Fishman has rightly lamented the lack of centralization of research in bilingual education. A center for applied social sciences, modeled on the Center for Applied Linguistics, could coordinate social science inquiries with linguistic research to help answer some of the questions raised not only by Fishman, but by bilingual educators concerned also with questions related to law and economics. Such a center also has the potential to help prevent social scientists from falling prey to the limitations of doctrinal legal research and, to a great extent, many education studies. Social scientists, in spite of the currency of pleas for their particular contributions, must not become guided by the exigency of providing policy makers with tools needed to reach decisions on an immensely varied assortment of problems, with extremely limited time periods and

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** A recent court ruling in New York City pointed to the discriminatory nature of discrete point tests and called for tests based on ethnographies of communication (Roger Shuy, personal communication, March 1976). For a review of the "state of the art" of testing in special education, see Kentucky CORRC, 1976.*

resources at their disposal. This condition will lead to a pervasive normativism. The decentralized random research on bilingual education among social scientists now holds the danger that policy makers will grasp one or two "good" precedents revealed from studies in one community or region and apply these to national program guidelines. Neither a center nor continuation of the present pattern must move us away from investigating rates; counting, tabulating, and correlating objective linguistic features of structure and use; and searching out diversities and divergences in language ideologies.

The final point in proposing perspectives and resources which may prove useful in providing policy in planning for bilingual education brings us again to the classics. Into our ideology regarding language learning in formal education, the classics planted the notion that language study provides training and enhances one's abilities to organize, and to represent that organization through literate means. This ideology prevails in the minds of many policy makers and planners in bilingual education. The classics, however, provide a caution against aspects of this ideology, which we as social scientists may take into evaluation of our own ideas and then perhaps into consideration of those of policy makers and planners.

> We trained hard, we performed well...but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams and become reasonably proficient we would be reorganized. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing...and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency and demoralization.
> --*Petronius Arbiter, 210 B.C.*

Supplementary Resources

Manuscript Collections: *John Pickering*: John Pickering, Salem, MA; *William Thornton*: Library of Congress.

Periodicals: American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres, Circulars I-III; American Periodical Series I, Eighteenth Century; Series II, 1800-1850. *The Aurora*, Philadelphia, 1790-1810.

Post-1850 runs of the following:
Atlantic; *Harpers Weekly*; *Littell's Living Age*; *The Nation*; *National Educational Association Proceedings*; *North American Review*; *The Outlook*; Publications of the Modern Language Association; *School Review*; and *The Spectator*.

viewpoint: Hugh Mehan

Ethnography

Fishman (1977B) has provided an extensive and comprehensive review of social science research in bilingual education. His assessment about the process of bilingual education in bilingual classrooms is, unfortunately, accurate: There is little or no data presently available about bilingual education in bilingual classrooms (but see Bruck and Shultz, Ms.). The only reference that Fishman makes to a classroom study (USCCR, 1973) is not actually about bilingual classrooms per se. It is really about Mexican-American students in monolingual classrooms taught by Anglo or Mexican-American teachers.

While I agree with Fishman that research into the dynamics of bilingual classrooms is desperately needed, I do not recommend following the model of the USCCR study. There are serious difficulties inherent in that research method that preclude an examination of classroom dynamics. The research technique employed for the USCCR study was a variation of the Flanders technique (Amidon and Flanders, 1963). The Flanders system is one of the most widely used traditional techniques for classroom observations. It involves on-the-spot coding of teacher and student behavior. Observers provided with a set of categories sit in the classroom and tally the action occurring around them at frequent and recurrent intervals. This technique produces a tabulation of the occurrence of certain teacher and students' verbal behavior. The Flanders categories and their definitions are reproduced in Figure 1.

The basic Flanders system treats students as a group. No distinction is made between individuals. The USCCR modified the Flanders system so that each behavior was coded with reference to the ethnicity of the students. Observers sat in the corner of the classroom for approximately one hour. Once every three seconds, for 10 minutes in each classroom, the observer marked a tally in a box which most approximately indicated the behavior that was occurring and the ethnicity of the students. The Flanders coding sheet as modified by the USCCR appears in Figure 2.

The USCCR study is about teachers' treatment of Mexican-

Figure 1

Summary of the Flanders Categories for Interaction Analysis

(From Amidon and Flanders, 1963)

TEACHER TALK	INDIRECT INFLUENCE	1. ACCEPTS FEELING: accepts and clarifies the feeling tone of the students in a nonthreatening manner. Feelings may be positive or negative. Predicting and recalling feelings are included.
		2. PRAISES OR ENCOURAGES: praises or encourages student action or behavior. Jokes that release tension, not at the expense of another individual, nodding head or saying "uhhuh?" or "go on" are included.
		3. ACCEPTS OR USES IDEAS OF STUDENT: clarifying, building, or developing ideas or suggestions by a student. As teacher brings more of his own ideas into play, shift to category five.
		4. ASKS QUESTIONS: asking a question about content or procedure with the intent that a student answer.
	DIRECT INFLUENCE	5. LECTURING: giving facts or opinions about content or procedure; expressing his own idea; asking rhetorical questions.
		6. GIVING DIRECTIONS: directions, commands, or orders with which a student is expected to comply.
		7. CRITICIZING OR JUSTIFYING AUTHORITY: statements intended to change student behavior from nonacceptable to acceptable pattern; bawling someone out; stating why the teacher is doing what he is doing, extreme self-reference.
STUDENT TALK		8. STUDENT TALK-RESPONSE: talk by students in response to teacher. Teacher initiates the contract or solicits student statement.
		9. STUDENT TALK-INITIATION: talk by students, which they initiate. If "calling on" student is only to indicate who may talk next, observer must decide whether student wanted to talk. If he did, use this category.
		10. SILENCE OR CONFUSION: pauses, short periods of silence, and periods of confusion in which communication cannot be understood by the observer.

Figure 2

Modified Flanders Interaction Form

(USCCR, 1973)

School and District Code No. _____ Date _____

Access No. _____ Classroom No. _____

District Name _____ Grade _____ Period _____

School Name _____ Subject _____

Teacher Name _____ Ability group level _____

Observer's Initials _____

	MA	A	B	O	C	TOTAL
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

American and Anglo students in the same classroom. Classroom observation was conducted in 494 classrooms in 52 schools in California, New Mexico and Texas where there were a representative number of Mexican-American and Anglo students. The USCCR sought to determine if there was differential treatment by the teacher of Chicano and Anglo students in the classroom. They did so by comparing the frequency of teacher interaction with students from these two ethnic

groups. The USCCR reported differences in teachers' treatment of these two groups of students, that they gave Anglos more praise and encouragement, and used Anglo students' ideas more often (USCCR, 1973). In addition, the Commission reports that Mexican-Americans speak significantly less often in class than Anglos do (USCCR, 1973).

The issue in bilingual classrooms is the skills that students need for success, both in school, and in the larger society. Current legislation in bilingual education informs us that we must determine the number of students with limited English speaking ability, determine the most effective means of instruction and devise the most effective means of classroom participation. This implies that students' skills need to be described so that educators can build on these skills to achieve literacy and reasoning ability, preferably in both first and second languages.

Traditional techniques for observation in classrooms, such as the Flanders system, even as modified by the USCCR, do not provide the kinds of information necessary to meet these goals.

Although summary data from a study like USCCR may be adequate to point out problems in classrooms for the purposes of initiating legal action, this approach is not helpful in recommending improvements or remedies. In order to change a social organization like a school, its internal workings must be understood. An ethnographic approach, by focusing on the interactional mechanism that produces educational outcomes, can be an effective instrument for making changes. Furthermore, these quantification systems obscure many important sources of information about students' competence, classroom organization and the relationship of schools to the community of which they are a part.

A CRITIQUE OF THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO CLASSROOM INTERACTION

1. Traditional techniques for observation in classrooms are useful for quantifying aspects of teacher behavior, but because they focus almost exclusively on teacher talk, they minimize the contributions of students to the organization of classroom events. The classroom is socially organized--teachers and students work in concert to create and sustain this organization.

The traditional concept of the classroom places the teacher at the front of the room and students in neat rows of desks facing the teacher. The students' primary responsibility in this configuration is said to be "responding when called upon (Dunkin and Biddle, 1974)." Even these "simple" question-answer exchanges, however, are accomplished through interaction, collaboratively produced by teachers and students. In order for interaction in lessons to proceed smoothly, a question asked by a teacher must be answered appropriately by a student. In order to provide an answer that is consistent with a question, the student must recognize the form of the speech act used, and interpret the teacher's intent. Just as a compelling speaker requires an effective listener (Erickson et al, 1973), a successful questioner requires an appropriate respondent.

Even in teacher-centered classrooms students do more than respond to teacher-initiated acts. They greet others, provide information, give directives, evaluate others' work, provide comments on the course of events and work to achieve their objectives in the context of the teacher's objectives. This range of student contribution is far more complex than a system like Flanders' is equipped to handle.

Action initiated by students requires synchronized contributions by teacher and students. In introducing a topic into a lesson, for example, the student makes his/her turn-taking coincide with the teacher's turn-leaving. The student's initiation of a new topic is reciprocated by a reply from the teacher or other students.

The situation is even more complex in student-centered classrooms, team teaching arrangements and learning centers. There, students often have some responsibility for organizing their course of study, deciding the length of study time and have some influence over techniques of discipline. This means that students have to be particularly attuned to demands that shift with different classroom arrangements. In bilingual classrooms, shifting situational demands are compounded by language shifts. As a result, methodology that captures the mutual synchronization of teacher and students, not one that simply tabulates frequencies, is required to answer questions about students' competence, especially in bilingual classrooms.

2. Time sampling obscures the sequential flow of classroom activity. Marking tallies at regular timed intervals does not show the order in which behavior occurs in the classroom. "Student responses" (Flanders Category no. eight) and "giving praise" (Flanders Category no. two), for example, are not random occurrences in the classroom. They are tied together in sequences of interaction. The interactional organization of such sequences is collapsed when frequencies are merely tabulated. As a result, the overall organization of classroom events and the students' contributions to this organization are lost. Furthermore, tabulations based on time sampling do not show the immediate context surrounding a recorded activity. There is no way to determine whether a behavior occurred at the beginning, middle or end of a lesson, in the transition between lessons, at recess or lunch time, etc. Finally, it does not place the recorded behavior and the event of which it is a part in the larger context of the school day, place the school day in larger context of the school week, the school year, etc. The relationship of an action to its context is important, for a student's action may have different meaning for a teacher in different situations.

3. The tabulation of frequencies of occurrences obscures the contingent aspects of interaction. It is important to know what happened before the recorded behavior occurred. For example, if a teacher "gives praise," what did the student do to receive praise and what were other students doing who did not receive praise? Or,

if a student talks in response to a teacher's initiation, did the teacher call on a student who had been seeking the teacher's attention, or one who had not bid for the floor? Are those students who bid for the floor ignored? Are those who did not bid for the floor encouraged?

McDermott (1976) has conducted an insightful analysis of videotape which he took of students in a "top" and "bottom" reading group in a school near New York City. On one occasion of showing segments of his slow motion analysis of this film, he pointed out some of the strategies that students employed to avoid being called on by the teacher. Just prior to the completion of another student's turn at reading, a particular student began to bid aggressively for the floor. But as the teacher scanned the group for a next reader, this student withdrew his hand, broke eye contact, and avoided being called upon.

Tabulation systems like Flanders would not record any of these subleties because they do not treat verbal and nonverbal behavior as interactionally connected. A description of the contingent nature of teacher-student interaction in verbal and nonverbal modalities is required in order to describe the full range of skills that teachers and students employ to cope with the complexities of the classroom.

The ethnographic approach I am advocating here avoids simplistic explanations of students' school performance. Instead of placing blame on either the student or the teacher for school failure, the ethnographic approach finds that "school failure" or "school success" is an achieved status, collaboratively produced by a number of adults with students in a wide variety of educational situations.

4. This type of summary data produced by the Flanders' method ignores issues recording students' competence, i.e. what students need to know in order to engage in and make sense of ongoing classroom events. Tabulating how many times a teacher asks a question does not tell what students need to know about language and social context in order to interpret questions and respond appropriately to them. A particular language function (e.g., giving a directive, making an elicitation, making a promise) can be realized by many speech strategies. For example, a teacher could say any of the following to a student: "(a) can you shut the door; (b) would you mind shutting the door; (c) I wonder if you could shut the door; (d) the door is still open; or (e) the door..." (based on an example from Sinclair and Coulthard, 1974). Depending on the context in which they were used, these utterances can take on different meanings. Utterances (a) and (c) could either be a question about the students' physical strength, or be a directive, (d) could either be an existential statement or a directive and (c) could either be an elliptical utterance or a command.

Students need to be able to decide the meaning of these utterances by interpreting them in the context of their use. In order to meet the needs of both bi- and monolingual students in U.S.

classrooms, we need to know more about how students develop mastery of the multiple ways in which a language function can be realized, and how they fit between strategies for using language at home and in school, rather than simply tabulating the frequencies with which utterances occur in the classroom.

5. The simple quantification of classroom behavior also ignores the multiple functions that any given speech act can serve. For example, an utterance by a teacher can praise a student and elicit new information from him/her simultaneously. Flanders' codes, by forcing observers to make discrete choices among categories, do not accurately reflect the multiple, simultaneous functions that language serves in the classroom (Cazden et al, 1972).

The teacher's statement "wait a minute, raise your hand if you know the answer" not only instructs students on how they should act to gain access to the floor, it simultaneously comments on past transgressions of classroom turn-taking procedures. When a teacher asks a question after a student's reply, that not only evaluates the previous reply, but encourages a further reply:

Teacher Initiation	Students' Reply	Teacher Evaluation
What color should we paint the sky?	Yellow, yellow!	Yellow?
	Yellow.	Yellow, all right.

The teacher who compliments a student for an action, e.g., "Brian raised his hand very nicely," is simultaneously instructing other students on proper procedures.

6. Traditional categorization schemes treat teachers' and students' behavior as isolated acts. As a result, they fail to capture the situational constraints that operate at each and every moment of classroom interaction. The social organization of the classroom can be divided into events, i.e. academic lessons, procedural meetings (e.g., "circles on the rug"), recess, snack time, etc. Each of these events is guided by normative rules, and different rules apply to different events. These rules are tacit, i.e. they are seldom formulated, listed or stated in so many words at the beginning of the school year or school day. Students must learn the rules that apply in each situation, be able to recognize differences between situations and be able to produce behavior that is appropriate to each situation. (For example, they should know that running and shouting is acceptable during recess, but not reading; that calling out an answer is acceptable during "students' time at the rug" but not during "teachers' time at the rug [Bremme, 1976].")

The social organization of the classroom also includes a set of procedures for insuring that the flow of communication among classroom participants is orderly and systematic (Mehan et al, 1976). In addition to eliciting information, providing information

or giving directions, teachers allocate turns to students during lessons. Under normal classroom circumstances, the teacher allocates turns by nominating individual students, by verbal and nonverbal means (like head nods, eye contact), by inviting them to bid for the floor ("Raise your hand if you know the answer.") and by inviting direct replies ("Anybody, what is this?"). Each of these procedures elicits different behavior. On some occasions, pupils can reply directly, while on others, they must receive permission to reply. To contribute successfully to classroom lessons, students must decide which of these subtle normative procedures is in effect. When one particular student has been awarded the floor by name or nonverbal means, other students must know to be silent. When the teacher invites bids for the floor, students must know to raise their hands and not shout out the answers. When the teacher invites replies from the floor, students must realize they can contribute directly. Those who misinterpret an "invitation to reply" as an "invitation to bid" and raise their hands instead of answering, lose the opportunity to display what they know. Those who misinterpret an invitation to bid as an invitation to reply, and call out an answer, can be sanctioned. A history of lost opportunities can lead a teacher to believe a student is inattentive, unexpressive and the like.

A particularly telling example of this appears on a videotape I took in a local San Diego school. Viewing the lesson on the tape without sound shows one student, Juan, actively bidding for the floor by raising his hand at regular intervals. One receives the impression that this student is actively involved. Viewing the same sequence with sound shows that this student is seldom called on by the teacher. It turns out that the teacher was employing a turn allocation procedure that invited students to reply directly. It was not necessary to bid for the floor before speaking. Juan had apparently not yet mastered the distinction between these two ways of gaining access to the floor. As a result, he was not participating fully in this classroom activity.

Thus, students must not only distinguish *between* events in the classroom and produce behavior that is appropriate to each, they must also make distinctions *within* events and produce behavior that is appropriate to momentary shifts in procedures. As a result, a simple tabulation of teacher and student behavior would not reflect the moment-to-moment shifts in normative procedures that provide the background for the "involvement" or "noninvolvement" of certain students. We need to know more about the "interpretive abilities" (Cicourel, 1974) that enable students to go beyond the information given in ambiguous utterances, and decode tacit classroom rules in order to act appropriately in changing classroom situations.

7. Taxonomic approaches also fail to relate the culture of the classroom to the culture of the community of which the classroom is a part. Virtually every observer of classrooms has cited instances of Puerto Rican or Mexican-American children who are being

criticized by Anglo teachers for being disrespectful when they avert their eyes, especially when being chastised. Such anecdotes are cited as evidence for cross-cultural miscommunication because eye aversion is a preferred mode of showing respect in certain Hispanic homes, while it is a sign of disrespect for certain Anglos. More importantly, perhaps, these stories remind us that *all* students (not just "minority" students) enter classrooms with a background of tacit cultural knowledge. This knowledge is acquired in everyday interaction with teachers, peers and family members. As students employ their culturally provided knowledge to make sense of school situations, they sometimes find themselves against the grain of the cultural demands of the classroom which are also tacit and ambiguous.

Patterns of action learned in daily life can and do clash with patterns of action for the classroom. Isolated clashes can be linked together into chains that lock students into ability groups and onto tracks. These "clashes" should not be used to suggest that students lack knowledge or culture, however; they speak to the seemingly inevitable consequences of interaction that occurs in tacit normative systems like classrooms and home.

As educators, we need to become more aware of the norms, values, skills and abilities that members of the community employ in their daily lives. We then need to assemble similar descriptions of the academic and interactional skills reported in classrooms and other school situations, and make linkages between the community and the school so that the actions required in the classroom are not in conflict with those required in the community. This recommendation should not be interpreted as a call to change children's patterns of action to conform to the demands of the classroom. If anything, I am recommending the opposite, that is, a flexible structuring of the classroom environment that is responsive to the child's developmentally and culturally provided style of learning.

If the process of bilingual education is to be understood, we need to look through wider lenses to measure students' competence. It is not sufficient to consider the frequencies with which single teacher and student behaviors occur. To obtain these wider measures, the researcher cannot do "quick and dirty" studies, i.e. enter the classroom, tabulate frequencies for a few minutes and then leave, and honestly say the dynamics of the classroom have been described. To describe student abilities, the researcher must participate in classroom life for an extended period of time, and gain a sense of the tempo, rhythm, pace of the class and the demands and expectations of the teacher. The researcher must describe the structure of classroom events, and describe the language used by teachers and students in these events, and then tie this description to a similar description of the community of which the school is a part.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

The above requirements recommend an ethnographic approach to

the study of classroom dynamics in bilingual situations. "Ethnography" is a term that has been used to mean many things. For some, it is any study conducted outside a laboratory or without a questionnaire. For others, it involves some version of a participant-observer study "in the field." For the purposes of discussion here, I will use the term "ethnography" in a specific way--to refer to a "constitutive" study of social organization (for background about "constitutive ethnography," see Mehan and Wood, 1975; Mehan et al, 1976). Used in this way, an ethnography is a description of members' knowledge--the skills and abilities that people in the society or community must employ to act acceptably in that community (Goodenough, 1964).

An ethnography of this kind is a description generated from within the community or society. Ethnographers try not to impose categories or structures of description foreign to the situation being described. Instead, they allow these meanings to emerge from within the situation. The goal of the ethnography is to provide a description that resonates the members' point of view.

Such descriptions can only be made by careful observations over an extended period of time. Traditionally, ethnographers have used field notes as their data base. More recently, this basic ethnographic procedure has been supplemented by the use of audio-visual materials. Videotape and film serve as an external memory, allowing repeated viewings. This technological innovation has facilitated the description of language use in social situations since accurate transcripts of talk and action can be made. These materials also facilitate a cooperative approach to research. Instead of an "outside" researcher independently defining research problems, gathering data and communicating results only to professional colleagues, tape from interactional situations can be viewed with participants to obtain their perspective and to verify researcher's interpretations (Erickson et al, 1973; Cicourel et al, 1974; Mehan et al, 1976). These "viewing sessions" can lead to participant-generated research ideas that are collaboratively pursued (Florio and Walsh, 1976), or which participants pursue independently.

In some recent ethnographies, the school in general, and the classroom in particular have been described as a community (McDermott, 1974; Mehan et al, 1976; Shultz, 1976). This parallel has been drawn in the following way (see especially Mehan et al, 1976). The classroom is like a community in that there are a number of participants who meet regularly in the same location. They meet for the ostensive purpose of achieving certain goals and objectives which are mainly academic in nature. As in other communities, there are preferred patterns of action, including the means to achieve the academic ends, prescribed for the members of the classroom community. The patterns of action, including the academic objectives to be met and the means to achieve them are guided by rules and regulations.

These classroom rules are normative. They are established by "convention" (Lewis, 1969), and are cooperatively maintained by the

members of the classroom community. Classroom rules, like other normative rules, are "tacit" (Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1973; Cicourel et al, 1974; Mehan, 1974). They are seldom formulated, listed or stated in so many words at the beginning of the school day or the school year.

What *do* students need to be competent members of the classroom community? What skills and abilities must they employ to be judged as successful by the other members of the classroom community, especially the teacher? What is the relationship between skills required in the school and those required at home, work or play?

Competent membership in the classroom community obviously involves *academic* skills and abilities. To be successful in the classroom, students must, indeed, master academic subject matter. They must learn to read, write and compute. They must learn the content of such subjects as history, social studies and science. But, recent ethnographies of the classroom have shown that classroom competence involves matters of *form* as well as *content*, *interactional* skills as well as *academic* skills.

To be competent members of the classroom community, students must not only know what to do, they must also know when and where to do it. Inasmuch as the classroom is a socially organized community, participants must be able to act appropriately within its normative constraints. "Acting appropriately" in the classroom involves uniting behavior with classroom situations. In order to produce behavior that is appropriate for a given classroom situation, students must interpret classroom rules and procedures that are often implicitly stated and which vary from situation to situation. The competence that I've outlined here constitutes part of the common sense knowledge which a student uses, and which ethnographers need to discover and describe.

To date, an ethnography of this sort has not been conducted in bilingual classrooms (but see Bruck and Shultz, Ms.). However, such work has been done in monolingual (including ethnically mixed) classrooms which can be heuristic for the study of the process of bilingual education in bilingual classrooms.

Ethnographies of Classroom Organization

The ethnographic approach treats the classroom as a community whose social organization is collaboratively constructed by the interactional "work" of its participants. This approach finds neither teacher nor students to be passive agents, but rather actively engaged in constructing the very interactional activity that emerges as the classroom's organized character.

The ethnographic approach describes the events that routinely occur in the classroom in terms of the practices and strategies which its participants employ to assemble the events. Some of the more recurrent classroom events are: "whole class" academic lessons (in math, science, reading, art, etc.), class meetings ("circles on the rug," etc.), small group lessons (in learning centers, for example) and, of course, lunch and recess. Each of these events is

socially organized. They are conducted for certain purposes (although the definition of these purposes might be different when teachers and students' points of view are compared, as Lancey did [1976]). There are patterns of action preferred for the participants in each of these events. These involve ways of talking and acting that are considered appropriate to each occasion. To be competent classroom members, students must generate the behavior that is considered appropriate for each event.

The assembly of particular classroom events has been studied from this ethnographic point of view. Bremme (1976) has examined the social organization of procedural meetings ("circles"), Mehan (1974) and McDermott (1976) have examined a few small reading groups, Mehan et al (1976) have looked at the social organization of a number of whole-group academic lessons taught by one teacher in one classroom and others have examined lessons and other events across a number of grade levels in the same school. (Other school events that have been studied from this research perspective include educational tests [Mehan, 1973; McKay, 1974; Roth, 1974], counseling sessions [Erickson et al, 1973; Erickson, 1975] and placement group meetings [Leiter, 1974].) Following the lead of Labov (1969), some researchers have begun to compare the language using abilities and interactional skills that children employ in different school settings (Mehan, 1973; Cicourel et al, 1974), and are comparing performance in and out of school (Erickson and Shultz, 1977; Shultz, 1976; Hall et al, 1975). These ethnographers describe the events that occur in each setting, the patterns of action that occur in each event, the behavior that is considered appropriate for the events and the skills and abilities that generate the behavior.

In one such ethnography, Bremme (1976) has analyzed the procedural meetings ("circles on the rug") in a K-1 classroom that took place across an academic year. Upon repeated videotape viewings of these events, he found that these circles were organized into distinct phases. These included the call to the circle, warm up, students' time, teacher's time and wrap up. The shift to students' time was announced by those at the edge of the circle rising to their knees and facing into the center, by the commencement of a long, student-speaking turn dealing with a personal experience or concern and by the teacher's ceasing to scan the group with her face and eyes, and focusing instead on one student (the speaker). Teacher's time was marked by students' rearranging themselves into a sitting position, turning their faces and eyes toward the teacher and by the commencement of the teacher's scannings as she initiated a topic of discourse dealing with organizational or "teaching" content. Transition times were signaled by the breaking up of either of these verbal-nonverbal patterns, i.e. by the individualization of students' gaze orientation, body positions and conversational topics--along with increased body movement by both teacher and students.

These configurations had practical consequences for the organization of behavior during the phases of the circle. Certain behavior was acceptable during certain phases, but not others. For

example, talking without the teacher's specific permission was acceptable during teacher's time, and received her acknowledgement if the utterance met specific (though tacit) criteria of topical relevance. But this behavior was prohibited during students' time; then, students had to raise their hand or call the teacher's name and be acknowledged before the teacher would respond to their talk. In this situation, topical relevance did not matter. This means that at any given point, the student must decide which phase of the lesson (s)he is in--teacher time or student time. This also means the "same" behavior (e.g., talking) takes on a different meaning in different circumstances. To interact successfully in the circle, students had to coordinate certain behavioral displays with certain phases of the event. A lack of coordination led to negative evaluations. As a result, students had to "read" the subtle cues that signaled shifts in the phase of the circle, or find their behavior in disfavor.

This system of organization is implicit. Although shifts between phases of the circle were regular and recurrent and marked by the teacher's verbal and nonverbal behavior, this system of organization was by no means obvious. It only became apparent to Bremme after repeated videotape viewings of these events. Because the norms constraining action in classroom events like circle are often tacit and implicit, students must engage in dynamic interpretive work (Cicourel, 1974) to produce behavior that is appropriate for different social situations.

I suggested earlier that classroom competence involves the integration of form and content. Mehan et al (1976) have demonstrated the importance of this integration in their analysis of nine "whole class" academic lessons taught in an ethnically mixed, cross-age classroom. They show that to be successful in classroom lessons, students must not only know the *content* of academic subjects, they must know the appropriate *form* in which to cast their academic knowledge. Although it is incumbent upon students to display *what* they know during lessons, they also must know *how* to display it.

Mehan et al (1976) describe classroom lessons as a series of Initiation-Reply-Evaluation sequences between teachers and students. Most (81 percent) of these sequences are teacher-initiated. The teacher provides information to the students, elicits information from them and directs their actions. Certain replies are called for and others are denied by these initiation acts. To be competent respondents in classroom lessons, students must be able to identify the instructional function implied from the often implicit form of the teacher's speech act, and provide appropriate replies. For example, students must know that "your book is on the desk" is an instruction to clean up, even though it takes the linguistic form of a statement. "This is a _____" is a request for information even though it doesn't have the appearance of a standard question.

Although teacher-initiated action predominates classroom lessons, the student's role is not limited to replying when called on (as an analysis like Flanders' would suggest). Students can

also initiate action during lessons. When Mehan et al (1976) examined the action that students initiated during lessons, they found that students used language in more complex ways than a quantitative analysis like Flanders' would reveal. Students elicited information from the teacher and other students in a number of ways, gave procedural instructions, provided information about a wide variety of topics, commented on the course of action and evaluated the form and content of other students' work.

In order to initiate action in teacher-dominated lessons, students had to gain access to the floor. Gaining access to the floor is a complex process. Students cannot talk at random in classroom conversation. They must locate the appropriate junctures in the flow of talk in which to introduce their ideas. This involves recognizing the completion of previous interactional sequences between teacher and students, and not introjecting new topics in the middle of an ongoing sequence. Once students have gained access to the floor, they have to know what to do with it. Many first graders, especially in the fall of the year when they were still learning the classroom turn-allocation rules, raised their hands whenever the teacher asked a question. However, when they were called on, they had nothing to say. At such times, it appears that these students have learned bidding for the floor is an important aspect of classroom participation, but they have not yet learned that supplying information is an integral accompaniment to that activity.

A similar lack of congruence between the form and content of students' replies occurs when students bid for the floor before a teacher has completed a question. Some students raised their hands at each pause in the teacher's talk. This action, in addition to showing what can happen when a student has not learned the classroom turn-taking procedures, can antagonize the teacher.

Once students have learned to gain access to the floor, they need to maintain control over it. This involves sensitivity to topical relevance. Having recognized appropriate junctures, students must tie information they wish to introduce to previous topics. If they do not make their comments topically relevant, they are ignored completely by others. If students initiated action at the appropriate juncture, and tied their action to previous topics, their information was "picked up" by other classroom participants. However, if their information was merely a comment on past activities, its life on the floor was short. In order to have their topics incorporated into the course of the lesson, students must provide topics that are both relevant to previous topics and that are new and interesting.

In sum, while students are expected to provide substantially correct academic information during lessons, they must employ interactional skills to display that academic knowledge.

These ethnographies of social organization of the classroom describe some of the communicative and interactional skills of students in (predominantly) monolingual classrooms. They portray a wider range of student skills and abilities than quantification

studies which are limited to tabulations of students' replies to teachers' questions. These skills include the production and comprehension of functional language, the interpretation of implicit normative rules, and the production of behavior that is appropriate to a number of different classroom situations.

Ethnography for Bilingual Education

I am proposing that this ethnographic approach would be heuristic if applied to the study of the education process in bilingual situations. An ethnographic approach to bilingual classrooms would locate the structure of classroom events and describe what students and teachers do and say in each event. Such a description would focus on the functions of language used in each situation, and would not be limited to the grammatical aspects of language. The students' performances would be judged in terms of criteria of acceptability, not grammatically.

The ethnographic approach would compare the language that students use in various classroom situations. These comparisons would show the situations in which students use their first and second language, with what degree of skill and when they switch between languages (Bruck and Shultz, Ms.). It could also show how students use language for greeting, taking leave, joking, insulting and other communicative routines.

This comparison would not be limited to the classroom, however. Students use language in other speech situations in the school. A comparison of students' language use in the classroom, educational tests, at recess and at lunch would shed even more light on the range of students' abilities. These contrasts are important because sociolinguistic studies consistently show that students display different skills and abilities in different social situations. Because of our reliance on educational tests, we seem to only know students psychometrically, i.e. when they answer questions posed by an adult about predetermined topics in a prescribed (and often random) order. While students' performances in these circumstances provide *one* view of their skills and abilities, we cannot fall into the trap of equating their performance in special events with their overall competence. Indeed, no single assessment of students' performances is an adequate measure of their competence.

This ethnography of the school could not be done in isolation. An understanding of the language used in the community in relation to that used in the school is required. An important dimension of an ethnography would be a comparison of the language used in the school with that used in the home, on the street, in the stores and other speech situations *within* the community, as well as at work, in banks, hospitals and other places *outside* the community.

This contrast would be important because a working premise of bilingual education seems to be incorporating the language of the child in his/her education. Indeed, the very expression *bi*lingual education implies that the language of the community will be used in conjunction with the dominant language (English in the United

States) for the purposes of instruction. Although that formulation would probably produce an impatient "of course, what else is new" from all concerned, it is not at all clear what "the language of the community" is, and therefore, what the language of instruction in bilingual education should be.

Contrary to traditional accounts which treat the Southwest as linguistically and culturally homogenous, the few existing ethnographies of speaking in bilingual communities of the area (Sánchez, 1974; Ornstein, 1974; Elías-Olivares, 1976) reveal a diverse linguistic and cultural heterogeneity. There are many varieties of language spoken by members of a given community. As a result, references to *the* "Chicano community" gloss over important differences that have significant educational implications.

In the relatively small speech community of East Austin, Texas, for example, speakers possess a linguistic repertoire that includes English and at least four varieties of Spanish: (a) a standard Northern Mexican Spanish, (b) popular Spanish, (c) Español Mixtureado (a local term for Spanish influenced by English in a variety of ways) and (d) Caló (Pachuco) (Elías-Olivares, 1976). American formal variety is often the one utilized in most language texts for the teaching of Spanish. The popular Spanish of the Southwest shares many characteristics with the popular varieties used in Latin America. Español Mixtureado reflects a borrowing of syntactic constructions (e.g., English noun-adjective order), but primarily an influence of English on the lexicon. Caló shares phonology and syntax with the other varieties, but has its own unique vocabulary. Young Chicanos use Caló for intragroup interaction and switch between codes regularly.

What implications does the sociolinguistic situation in this one particular community have for bilingual education in general? The answer to that question concerns the "language of the community" issue, i.e. which variety should occupy the Spanish portion of bilingual education programs? Should it be the formal Spanish favored by older, or better educated community members? Or, should it be the "popular Spanish" as recommended by first generation speakers? Or, should it be the "code switching variety" favored by young Chicanos who see no need for the standard variety? Or, should *several* varieties be employed? This alternative implies that teachers in bilingual situations should be able to shift from one Spanish and/or English variety to another as the situation requires.

In recommending ethnography to bilingual education, I am not offering specific solutions for the structuring of particular bilingual programs. Rather, I am proposing ethnography as a way to proceed in order to find out what the structure might be. I am arguing for bilingual programs that are ethnographically based, and which seriously consider what one needs to know about language, communicating and interaction in order to get along in a particular community. No matter which language (or languages) is ultimately chosen for instruction in a particular bilingual program, it is important for educators, researchers and community members to be aware of linguistic diversity in the community, and understand how

people feel about the use of different language varieties, especially as a medium for academic instruction.

Before implementing a bilingual program in a particular community, we need basic ethnographic research on the linguistic situation of the community in relation to that of the school. Educational programs that are built on the basis of such concrete research can then be made sensitive to the community's needs.

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viewpoint: Sarah Nieves-Squires

Anthropology

It was with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation to respond to Fishman's paper, "The Social Science Perspective." I was especially moved by the desire to participate in what I consider a much needed re-orientation of the relationship between the field of bilingual education and some of anthropology's most elementary theoretical generalizations, as well as many of its methods and applications.

This desire stems out of a felt need to "desfacer los entuertos" which have been plaguing bilingual education in North America for the past decade. My contention being that this state of affairs has not been totally unrelated to the prevailing methodological orientation of the social sciences in North America--especially that of anthropology.

A case in point is the linkage (or lack thereof) between language planning and bilingual education specialists. Is it accidental that the implementation of status and corpus planning is primarily discussed in terms of funds, that their evaluation is done on a piece-meal basis, or confined to theory or speculation, and that any revisions undertaken conform to the exigencies of desired proposed legislation?

I believe that the answer to this question should be sought within the context of two schools of thought: *Functionalism*, which all the social sciences favor--especially sociology, anthropology and political science, and the *theory of acculturation* which has had great impact in the formation of applied anthropology. A historical look at the roles these two principles have played in the development of American anthropology can provide some insight.

THE STRUCTURAL/FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Scientific anthropology was born in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the first ethnological school of evolutionism appeared.

> As early as the nineteenth century, Cournot postulated the law of human evolution according to which humanity passes from "vitalism" (primitive societies where biological forces are strongest) to "history" (intermediate societies where the contingency of events is dominant) and from "history" to "rationalism" (which up to the present is dominant in urban societies where Reason dominates the biological and the uncertain). Later, Tönnies saw in the passage from "communities" to "societies"--which characterizes our epoch of urbanization and industrialization--a similar passing from the affective to the rational. But it was Max Weber above all who has spotlighted this movement toward the rationalisation of action: in politics, the substitution of bureaucratic authority structures for charismatic or traditional society; in law, the movement from customary to rational law; in religion, the triumph of secularization; and in economics, that of planning *(Bastide, 1971)*.

Cultural evolutionism conceived culture, wherever and whenever it was found, as developing progressively through time and as following essentially the same sequence of development among all peoples of the earth. (We may remember, the emphasis on progress arose in response to the theory of cultural degradation.) The problem that evolutionism posed to the Western conscience was that if all peoples must pass through the same stages of development, how was it that certain groups had stopped along the way, or advanced with greater or lesser delay? To ensure the goal of evolution (entrance into civilization), it became the "duty" of the "superior" cultures to help their "inferior brothers" achieve civilization more quickly. Obviously, there are no superior or inferior cultures. There are only *different* cultures. Evolutionism's chief mistake was to judge other civilizations in reference to their own, thus falling into the sin of ethnocentrism. It was this failure of nineteenth century evolutionism that led to intensive empirical research, and to an emphasis on cultural relativism and historical particularism, which, in turn, ushered in the birth of applied anthropology.

According to Bastide (1971), two great phases of cultural anthropology must be marked: That devoted to the relativity of values as against the ethnocentrism of the first anthropologists which was to give rise to a liberalism vis-a-vis interethnic contacts; and that devoted to the facts of acculturation which resulted in the formation of applied anthropology. It is his contention that, in effect, this resulted in a veiled return to ethnocentrism. "It is precisely because the relativism of cultural anthropology is never pursued to its logical extreme, because it retains within itself that ethnocentrism which it decries elsewhere (though at a more theoretical than practical level) that we may speak of the dilemma of cultural anthropology (Bastide, 1971)."

It would not be difficult to bear out that, prior to World

War II, American anthropology was basically diagnostic (i.e. following the outbreak of domestic crises, searching for the causes which provoked them, and proposing the most adequate remedies to ensure that they did not recur). The character and role of anthropology were altered with the War--it was no longer sufficient to diagnose and react, it was necessary to foresee and plan.

At this point, American anthropology converged with British applied anthropology by embracing psychological functionalism. Psychological functionalism as "discovered" by Malinowsky (1944, 1945) is based on the biological nature of human needs. As he sees it, people everywhere must satisfy seven basic biological needs if they are to survive: metabolic, reproductive, and the needs for bodily comfort, safety, movement, growth and health. To each of these, in every society in the world, we find some kind of cultural response. He established a correlation between people's biological requirements and their ways of fulfilling those requirements in a way that would hold generally for all humankind. In the end, the *very* object of applied anthropology is making it possible for people to manipulate those needs.

Throughout this historical evolution, the basic nature of applied anthropology has remained unchanged.

> Structurally, it retains at its base a model of asymmetrical relations. That is, it is based on a stratified notion of societies, or if you prefer, on the existence of majority and minority groups, higher and lower strata, in a relationship of dominance and subordination. There are groups that are only givers and those that are only takers--"civilised" and "savage" in the precolonial era; then colonisers and colonised, then, finally, the peoples of the Third World, if we keep to the interethnic sphere. If we proceed to the intraethnic sphere, following the same model, we have urban and rural areas, whites and coloured people for multiracial societies, bourgeois and proletarians....Contrary to the laws of free acculturation, applied anthropology is dominated by a desire for the assimilation of the minorities by the majorities, who hold the keys of power, and the direction of strategy *(Bastide, 1971)*.

Thus, bilingual education, viewed within this model of asymmetrical relations, is indeed functional for the assimilation of the so-called "ethnic minorities" by the so-called "majority." (We all know the ambiguity of a phrase such as "ethnic minority"--a term which has only the semantic value given it by politics, one that, in fact, denotes the politically dominated population, having little to do with the number of individuals involved [Bastide, 1971].) The language situation is a substantial part of the infrastructure of development, in which dual or alternative means of communication would only be tolerated within a context of acculturation. (Diglossia: One language being legitimized for supra-ethnic

unity, and the other for ethnic individuality or educational [cultural] specificity.)

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between the peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation *(Redfield et al, 1936)*.

Bastide (1971), however, adds two major distinctions. The first separates acculturation from enculturation. *Enculturation* takes place during the first years of life; it consists of the transmission of culture from adults to the succeeding generation. *Acculturation*, on the other hand, involves adults already enculturated by their parents, and it is precisely because it involves already-formed adults that it is problematic, creates conflicts in the individual psyche and rarely leads to true assimilation. The second distinguishes between acculturation and integration: *Integration* of a minority group with a nation or a state, or of one tribe with the global society, is facilitated by a preliminary homogenization of the two cultures in contact. It is true nonetheless that one can well imagine an integration of two groups or cultures into a single whole, politically or economically, without these groups losing their native cultures or changing them. By way of example, Bastide (1971) mentions the indigenous Mexican policy which went about integrating the Indian communities into the nation without touching their cultures.

Seen from an applied anthropology perspective, transitional bilingual education programs fit within an enculturation schema, whereas maintenance oriented programs would serve more within an integrative one. Thus, Spolsky's (1974) dichotomy/distinction between "salvage the child"/compensatory and "salvage the language"/maintenance programs represents a tidy example of enculturation (integration) schemata; both of which can be subsumed within a larger acculturation theme.

To this effect, the analysis presented in the Gonzalez-Atiles et al (1976) manuscript reflects such an awareness:

> In approaching the formulation of a language policy for Puerto Ricans in the United States we must take into account the following:
>
> 1. the class divisions and alignments in our community

2. we must understand the ideological and programmatic parameters of the language struggle. Establish the connections between educational ideology and practice and the underlying economic reality expressed in those class formations.
3. we must reexamine the definitions and solutions brought from the Island
4. the limits of available knowledge and our power to act as a community to rationally control language and education. [sic]

The concern among anthropologists in the first part of the twentieth century with creating a conceptual scheme of reference or with formulating a typology of situations in which interpenetrations of civilization occur, appears very similar in intent to the early appearance of bilingual typologies in advance of the bulk of empirical data, as indicated by Fishman (1977B). This concern, however, also fits within the Cartesian model (Bastide, 1971) that prevails today in the field of U.S. anthropology. "Cartesian" because it follows from Descartes' *Discourse*: from theory to application. This Cartesian model is linked to a whole movement in which all the human sciences are involved; one which presses us more and more to rationalize human praxis. Anthropologists have been caught up in this historical current, and are being called upon to perform within the context of the Cartesian model, i.e. to draw applied anthropology from scientific anthropology.

Just as anthropology in the United States after World War II came to the realization that it still lacked maturity, both as a science and as an applied science, and reacted by increasing the effort to face the challenge, so bilingualism in the United States today is coming to that realization, and adopting a not dissimilar stance.

I see the early appearance of typologies fitting within a globalistic approach to acculturation through bilingual education. I see the fact of the tendency of social science research on bilingual education to lean heavily on outcome-oriented research rather than on process-oriented research as a reflection of the overriding attention to the production of those choices required for the maintenance of the prevailing social system, and as a counter measure to the phenomenon of resistance to bilingualism that may exist among those sectors of the economy which are most affected by it.

TYPOLOGIES

Almost all the typologies that occur in the literature have failed to provide the explicit theoretical framework that such a system of ordering requires for rigor. Some of the crucial difficulties that hinder the usefulness of the schemata now available stem from ignoring the need for explicating the ordering-relation concepts that are a necessary constituent of any typology, or perhaps from a disinclination to attempt explication. We cannot even

begin to answer questions of degree until we are given a much more rigorous explication of the appropriate ordering-relation within the typologies. Failure to provide such explication causes whatever import such typologies may have to remain on the merely heuristic plane. Thus, the great bulk of formulations referred to as typologies will, in fact, turn out to be definitional systems of varying degrees of power formulated with varying degrees of explicitness.

It is clearly of the first importance to have an understanding of the structure of the value-orientation patterns relative to the socialization patterns in order to achieve some clarity of perception about the ordering relation within a given typology. In order to grapple with what Fishman calls "delicate psychopedagogical issues," it is equally important to understand the function of differing social systems and different types of societal subsystems. Campbell's (1970) conclusion should surprise no one--that the success of language education depends far more on social-contextual considerations than on applied linguistic considerations.

At this point, it would be salutary to remember that no amount of methodological clarity or sophistication, however helpful or needed, can ever be enough to supplant the tasks of description, explanation and prediction. In order to enter the province of substantive theory, these tasks must be accomplished.

Only through an understanding of the *functioning* of the social system, and of different types of societal subsystems can the phenomenon of resistance to bilingualism be placed in its appropriate context: As a cultural defense mechanism against external influences which threaten both the equilibrium of the society and the affective security of some of its members. Thus, Ramirez' (4s.) speculation regarding Anglos' imposition toward compensatory programs fails to perceive the functionalist nature of maintenance-enrichment programs.

It is indeed quite dangerous not to make it transparent that institutionalized bilingualism is itself a component of a member subsystem of a more comprehensive social system that, up to now, has identified bilingualism as *non*functional to its approved integration patterns. In this case, however, compensatory programs are an example of a *functional* integration of deviating patterns since the functionalist point of view holds that only minimum needs have to be satisfied for those members of society who are considered peripheral to the maintenance of the social system.

Even though references to functionalism or to functions are not always overt regarding bilingualism, an examination of the typical contexts where it obtains invariably shows an underlying body of rules and assumptions which are, however hidden, implicit or elliptically rendered, of a functionalist nature. The degree to which such a reference is disguised varies, of course, from context to context, but the following skeleton outline (Rudner, 1966; brackets mine) may guide us to find out how and in which kind of institutionalized setting bilingualism is functional to the more comprehensive social system.

1. An item or element of a cultural system is distinguished. [The ability of concentrations of those conceived as marginal members of the social system to maintain symbolic interaction, i.e. speech, in a particularistic fashion that excludes majority-ascription members.]

2. In the context of the system it has a characteristic. [Such subsystems within the larger system maintain their intra-class and intra-ethnic solidarity by means of the differentiated in-group symbolic interaction.]

3. The occurrence of this characteristic determines, in turn, some characteristic of the whole system. [Intra-class and intra-ethnic solidarity is construed as a sufficient threat to the state of cohesion within the larger social system.]

4. This latter characteristic is necessary for the maintenance of the system in a given state (such as that of survival.) [Cohesion and solidarity of all subsystems with the larger social system is a functional imperative for the legitimation of the larger system.]

Such a schematic outline proposes that ascription to a perceived marginal group (be it by way of symbolic interaction or economic interaction), such as that characterized by the element of bilingualism, is to be construed as a *sufficient* condition for the occurrence of a threat to the larger system's cohesion--which is, in turn, a *necessary* condition for the maintenance of optimal function within the larger social system. It follows then, that the system concerns itself with a mandate of integrative support and functional legitimation at the operational level. Thus, an adaptive solution (such as compensatory programs) is provided which facilitates a normative level of functioning.

It would appear reasonable to orient bilingual education research toward the task of searching for strategies which could begin acting upon elements of the social system, and offer a better understanding of the process by which the larger social system accepts/rejects bilingual practice and the ways in which it chooses to incorporate it or not.

Rolland Paulston (1976), in his very comprehensive study, addresses this issue: "In sum, substantial educational change will only be possible when preceded by a significant change in the normative structure of a society, when schools are allowed to take on major functions not directly related to socialization, or when the public is willing to grant schools greater autonomy and freedom to develop alternative structures and directions."

CONCLUSION

Language is the medium in which meanings are shared, not only in the cognitive sense, but in the comprehensive sense of significance that encompasses affective and normative modes. The *what* cannot be understood if it is not possible, at the same time, to explain the *why*.

Applied anthropology, like all sciences, builds models--not models of things social, but rather models of people's manipulative action of things social. The model that U.S. bilingual education has chosen conforms to a functionalist social interpretation of reality--essentially, a dissonance-reducing, orientational and order-generating task which retains the maintenance of technical control within the established groups. By placing the basis of the legitimacy of authority to decide which language form is "correct," and the ability to restrict usage within the school setting instead of accepting it as it exists in the community, transitional/compensatory bilingual programs perpetuate unnecessary modes of illegitimate control systems. And in the end, this may *not* be functional for the integration of the very system that brought them forth in an effort to integrate "dominant" values with the "ethnic minority subcultures."

It is a fact that American applied anthropology and the social sciences, in general, stress the unity of U.S. culture and its homogeneity at the expense of recognizing social stratification and conflict. In part, because of this approach, we presently lack information about societal factors that represent powerful forces governing the success or failure of bilingual programs, as indicated by Fishman; and in part, because we have failed to regard bilingual education as a continuous process of interaction between different culture groups, and have developed it as a transfer of elements from one culture to another thereby establishing the existence of alternative behaviors. As a result, the behavior of individuals in given situations is no longer predictable to the other members of the community, since there is the possibility of choice between diverse patterns instead of behavior patterns imposed by the subgroup. This state of "unforeseeability" in social relations is often a factor for confusion in intra-ethnic relationships and surfaces on the affective level as anxiety, which is one of the specific pathological phenomena associated with the process of acculturation. There is another name for this situation--biculturalism. As Fishman pointed, not enough has been said about this phenomenon, although the word is bandied about in tandem with bilingualism. Care should be taken that the investigation of such a topic does not remain on the level of definitions of culture, but rather that it explores the impact of the pressures applied by the surrounding society within the subgroups to perform at such dual levels at the expense of group identification and solidarity.

Since the aim of applied anthropology is the changing of the structures of society so as to cause it to evolve toward other patterns of relations between persons and between groups, those

hitherto defined abstract and precise schema of structures should consider the notion that the unity of a whole is not the single sum of its parts; that the parts are dependent one on another and all depend in their turn on their gestalt formation (Habermas, 1972). This is an approach that is counter to the model of functional systems, which posits the interdependence of the elements with the specific referent of stability and control. Once again it becomes apparent that further research needs to be undertaken in the area of bilingual education and existing theories of social action. How linguistic problems are a reflection of social problems rather than a cause; the way in which "dominant" cultures penalize those members whose social attitudes are dependent upon doing and perceiving differently. Further explorations have to be made into the attitudinal studies and their implications for bilingual schooling. Is there, indeed, a basic change in social attitudes once instruction in another language is undertaken by both those of "minority ascription" and those of "majority ascription"? How sound is the dual-medium bilingual education approach which aims at acculturation if the melting pot hypothesis has now been replaced by an acceptance of cultural pluralism?

These and other areas of concern should be discussed, and without a doubt will become pivotal in the search for a relevant application of social theory to the development of positive, non-alienating bilingual schooling and education for both non-English and English speakers in the public school systems of the United States. As for the applicability to other settings, care should be maintained so that the onslaught of cultural imperialism does not prevail.

viewpoint: H. Ned Seelye

Sociology and Education

In cases where a preliterate vernacular is assigned "educational status" through use as a second language within the social and academic context of the school, or even where dialectual decisions need to be made within languages of literary prestige (i.e. Canadian vs. French French, Mexican vs. P.R. Spanish), Fishman concludes that the satisfactory production of "laboriously perfected nomenclatures, orthographies, style manuals, grammars, (etc.)" only occurs when questions of the appropriateness of the language for school use (status planning) have been resolved by school and community authorities. I think it would be misleading, however, to imply that one should procrastinate educating vernacular language children until such a consensus is reached. The case of Quechua-Spanish bilingual education in Ecuador may be suggestive of the spuriousness of positing a consensus regarding linguistic niceties as a prerequisite to instruction. Here the controversy attending the adequacy of some curricular materials is being generated by linguists themselves--none of whom are native speakers of Quechua--who argue impassionately the ho-hum merits of whether to represent a phoneme by one symbol or another. In another Ecuadorian example --Cofán--there is no controversy with regard to the orthographic and grammatical conventions. Neither is there any consensus among "school and community authorities." Simply stated, in this case the *sole* authority is the American linguist who transcribed the language. To await the test of other authorities before initiating instruction through the medium of Cofán would be an unrealistic response to the educational needs of Cofán children. The point of relevant community involvement here centers on whether or not to provide bilingual education, not on what linguistic system to employ in its delivery.

Decisions affecting the educational status of second languages and the legitimization of their writing systems often can be monitored, Fishman notes, through the way publishers and educational lobbies allocate funds.

Closer psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic scrutiny is called for into the reasons small, functionally unimportant language or graphemic varieties evoke such strong polemics among marked languages. Perhaps "the authenticity/purity aura" surrounding the use of marked languages is just a growing pain in their upward social mobility.

For a language to achieve educational status--a politicizing process involving in-group consensus as well as out-group acquiescence--in-group consensus must be strengthened by a belief that bilingual education will preserve their cultural identity. Fishman notes that this appears to conflict with what E. Glynn Lewis accurately, I believe, observes to be the futility of maintaining a specific cultural corpus, since all cultures change, and cultures in contact can be expected to change more rapidly than cultures in isolation. Accelerated cultural diffusion can be hypothesized for all participants in a bicultural program, especially subordinate participants. The implications of this dilemma need to be examined within the context of language status planning. Fishman does examine one implication of this in his concern for the extent to which bilingual education fosters more extensive intergroup relations.

He states, perhaps in response to Gaarder's concern for cultural maintenance among "dominated peoples," that "only a strong popular movement can put bilingual education in the hands of the parents whose children will be most affected by it." The desirability of this type of community involvement has been axiomatic in recent U.S. Office of Education reform programs, and it seems especially appropriate where, as in the USA, the basic impetus for bilingual education has emanated from subordinate minority parents and community leaders. This conclusion is again reiterated in his concluding sentence on language planning. Edward Hall (1975), to go even further, strongly believes that no one has the right to impose an educational system on a people except members of their own ethnic group. I wonder, however, if this axiom should not be examined against one's basic philosophy of education. If education is seen as a way to indoctrinate youth into the tribal (i.e. ethnic) ways, then community control is most effective. If education is seen as a way to ensure societal stability and socialization into class-appropriate roles, then control by the powerful is most effective. If education is seen as a questioning and discovering process, then it is best served by iconoclastic teachers and poets. The paradox rests in the practice of public-controlled education (or any other vested-interest education) claiming to do the latter while doing the second, with partisans of bilingual education wanting to espouse the first philosophy so they can implement the second later on. Fishman's restatement of one of Lewis' concepts illustrates this: "power strivings require ethnicity appeals to be realized." Gaarder, in his belief in the inherent goodness of ethnicity, would be a proponent of community-directed education. Isaacs (1975) would tend to equate ethnicity with ethnocentrism, and not, therefore, something to be supported through tax dollars.

Fishman suggests a synthesis of these views is available in diglossia, with one language used for "over-arching supra-ethnic unity." Wouldn't a "supra-ethnic" command of language be a type of marketplace compound bilingualism with its speaker never quite communicating in either cognitive or affective terms?

Fishman's review of "typologies of bilingual education in society" is stimulating and his conclusion certainly sound: "We will require the realism fostered by empirical data before we can tell how they should be collapsed or expanded." This speaks to the researcher, unfortunately, more than to the practitioner. His review does not sufficiently highlight those cells that have been empirically found to be significantly predictive, although one of his own typologies was empirically derived. For the practitioner, Gaarder's underlying rationale of identifying the "principal factors which combine to determine the socio-political dynamics of bilingualism and bilingual education" may prove to be the most useful because it highlights problems to be dealt with in given circumstances.

Fishman's discussion of variables found to be of predictive worth in past empirical studies could be profitably expanded with the promising variables graphically abstracted in table form. Fishman's statement that "...sociolinguistic factors may require prior attention and manipulation before such fine-grained considerations as instructor, curricular and methodological characteristics can truly come into their own" has important ramifications for local, state and federal policy makers, as does his caution concerning the limitations of simple treatment-control designs for evaluators. In addition to asking "Does bilingual education work?" he seems to be advising evaluators to ask "Under what circumstances does it work best?"

Fishman states that there is "growing disenchantment with compensatory bilingual education in the USA [and] growing enchantment with immersion bilingual education both in Canada and the USA ...," but he does not indicate from which sectors this enchantment/disenchantment emanates. I am not aware of any "growing enchantment" in the U.S. with immersion bilingual education. To judge by the growing number of states (in excess of 13) that have enacted a transitional (i.e. compensatory) concept of bilingual education, there appears to be little, if any, taxpayer support of immersion programs (although Title VII in its early years did advocate partial immersion for Anglo children). In Canada, immersion programs have more often than not meant putting minority Anglophone children in French-speaking schools. The counterpart in the U.S.--putting minority children into English-language programs--has not produced desirable results. Fishman's observation is sound: "Immersion education seems to succeed exactly in those contexts in which we would expect any educational endeavor to be relatively successful, namely, when it has everything going for it...." Social analysts need to probe for possible undesirable long-range effects of transitional bilingual education.

The laboring of the prescribed nature of compensatory bilingual

education is not done justice by saying that in the U.S. students are "assigned rather than volunteering for [it]." In fact, I am not familiar with any U.S. bilingual program where some form of parental permission is not required for program participants. A difference between compensatory and enrichment programs worth indicating in this context may be the extent to which recipients of bilingual education perceive it to be in response to their solicitation. And here I would expect many "compensating" recipients to be highly politicized and to regard it as the just fruit of their labors. The age of most bilingual program participants, 6-12, makes the assigned vs. volunteered issue somewhat academic: Their parents make the decision.

Both federal and states' laws include the teaching of non-language arts subjects in the mother tongue, teaching the mother tongue as a continuing language and the teaching of the first culture or history. Nonetheless, the "double bind" syndrome sketched by Fishman needs to be seriously addressed. There are escapes, however, through social psychological synthesis of the conflicting value orientations of the two cultures in contact. One can develop a sense of cultural continuity toward both one's historical antecedents while forced into marginality vis-a-vis either.

Fishman points to the usefulness of demographic variables in extending (or limiting) the generalizability of local studies and the relation these variables may have to program type and success.

The ambitious ISBSE study (Fishman, 1976A), by dint of its *secondary* school sample, is distinctly biased in favor of enrichment bilingual education and biased against bilingual programs that are more concerned with basic literacy, remedial education or with providing a transitional bridge to acculturation.

Fishman's Table 2 lists the "relative prevalence of bilingual education in 117 countries." It may be revealing to see the countries compared with regard to the relative prevalence of bilingual education vis-a-vis the minority-language populations in their respective countries.

Since trends toward "vernacularization" and "internationalization" are both "disparate" and proceed "on two fronts simultaneously," this phenomenon would appear to benefit from research into the dynamics of what's happening here.

Some attention needs to be focused on the "bilingual" immersion in countries such as Haiti, where the second language (French) is the school-worthy language, and in Indonesia where the school language becomes a lingua franca.

This section's concluding statement ("there is likely to be even more bilingual education a decade from now than there is today") would be more convincing if its thesis were argued more closely with more data.

In reviewing Mackey's study of an internationalist bilingual school in West Berlin, Fishman makes the curious statement that "since Mackey's school was of a quite special type (bringing together advantaged expatriate and advantaged indigenous pupils and teachers in a program that devoted approximately equal attention to

each language), it is difficult to guess to what degree his findings would be replicated elsewhere." The type of school Mackey studied is one of the commonest forms of bilingual education to be found at least in Europe, Central and South America as Fishman knows (see his trichotomy, under "Typologies of Bilingual Education in Society").

Researchers need to probe the interactive dynamics involved in the increase in enrichment bilingual education vis-a-vis vernacular bilingual education. What political events change basic models?

While Kjolseth and Gaarder's view may be right, that compensatory bilingual education inevitably leads to marginality in both language groups and "cultural genocide at the group level," this has not been reported in the "short haul," but suggests social indicators to probe.

Fishman notes the lack of evidence that intergroup relations are improved through bilingual education and points to some concern that U.S. bilingual programs tend to foster segregation of students from the regular school program. More encouraging findings are reported from Canada. The "continuation of bilingual education and of bilingualism as well" depends, according to Fishman, on motivating dominant-language children to want to communicate with subordinate language children. Yet there seems to be little movement in the U.S. in that direction.

He reports most student satisfaction with bilingual education when marked languages were used for "ethnically encumbered subjects," and unmarked for ethnically unencumbered subjects.

The only public support for U.S. bilingual education is for the remedial, transitional type. Yet terms such as "dubious benefits" tend to impeach the only viable foothold bilingual education has in this country. Paradoxically, most of the community-, federal- and state-level advocates of bilingual education want to see it as an enrichment program. An unidentified area for social science or political science inquiry is how policy implementers are handling the remedial vs. enrichment concept. Some seem to be clearly using transitional rhetoric when addressing certain sectors, and maintenance or developmental rhetoric while addressing other sectors. To bite the hand that feeds you is not the only option available to U.S. advocates of quality bilingual education. Fishman's concluding paragraph suggests a "metamorphosis" of transitional bilingual education into "something better." Few will quarrel with this. The comprehensive and professional breadth of Fishman's paper should contribute meaningfully to helping bilingual education's advocates plan such a metamorphosis.

viewpoint: Brian Weinstein

Political Science

Many language and bilingual education specialists have ambivalent attitudes toward politics. On the one hand, they dismiss it as an unclean game played by others to impede the realization of justice in America. On the other, they perceive constraints on their capabilities and suggest that political organization and initiatives might be the last best hope for secure bilingual public school programs. No matter what their attitude finally is, they are already involved in politics: By attempting to prove the efficacy of ethnic- or language-based movements in shaping education policy, they are helping to promote these movements into potentially important political forces. Consequently, it is not impertinent for others to ask them: What is your political goal, or what is your political image of America once bilingualism is successful? Is the nation an alliance of distinct self-conscious groups whose identity is based on ascriptive characteristics such as language, or is it a unified mass of individuals whose ethnic identities have been restricted to non-political areas? One answer comes from political scientist Vernon Van Dyke, who proposes that both the rights of ethnic groups "as units" and the rights of individuals be recognized within a society (1977). Such questions are not meant to undermine the efforts of education innovators who also wish to build a more just society; their purpose is, rather, to elicit information which might clarify the issue and possibly increase support.

Because I believe the political aspect of bilingual education is important, I should be able to respond to these questions with appropriate theories, examples and references supplied by at least two dozen political scientists. Alas, political scientists cannot

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Editor's Note: Dr. Weinstein was actually a participant in the program considering the legal perspective of bilingual education. The editors feel that the content of his paper properly belongs with the social science perspective, and therefore have included it here.

yet supply the missing perspectives in a direct way. The fact is that very few political scientists are interested in language choice as a political factor, much less in the politics of bilingual education. For example, in a paper presented at the 1976 International Studies Association meeting (de la Garza and Cotrell, 1976), two professional political scientists and a representative of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund presented a synthesis of the literature, attempted to state the Chicanos' position in a comprehensive fashion and expressed their hope to be of service "to Chicano activists who are seeking ways to break out of their subordinate status (de la Garza and Cotrell, 1976)." In this approximately 50-page paper, they make no reference to bilingual education whatsoever, and they refer to education only in the most oblique way. Although Fishman's paper (1977B) explicitly excludes political science, it is nonetheless significant that in his comprehensive bibliography, only five titles contain the word "political." I doubt, even if Fishman had wished to cover the political science perspective, that he could have found many more titles. What is the reason for this state of affairs, and what is being done about it, if anything?

The primary reason is that the focus of political science has been on language *use*, rather than on language *choice*. Secondly, political scientists--and some others--have somehow been able to study communication without considering language. Lastly, political scientists have examined language only when it has become an explicit issue in other problems such as party conflict, independence movements and so forth. For example, Harold Lasswell (1905), pioneer in American political science, called for an analysis of the ways politicians use slogan and myth. Others have followed: Murray Edelman (1971) has studied the manipulation of metaphor by elites, and like David Bell (1976), claims that politics is essentially the communication of symbols. The broader, analytical approaches to the politics of language choice and language treatment are taken by non-political scientists--sociologists, anthropologists, linguists and sociolinguists have produced the basic works on government planning and policy making with respect to language (see general references). George Williams, a linguist, and William M. O'Barr, an anthropologist, are teaching courses and completing important research on language in the legal system, and O'Barr and O'Barr have recently published an important collection of essays, *Language and Politics* (1976). Maurice Bloch (1975), another anthropologist, has studied oratory in traditional society. Although nationalism, planning, policy making processes, constitutional law and administrative law are important courses in most political science departments, teachers and scholars have practically never focused any of these efforts on language.

A change is, however, occurring. Most recently, Graber (1976) studied political functions and the effects of different types of language use. Other political scientists are beginning to examine the language aspect more deeply in four areas of traditional concern: *human rights*, *community identity*, *policy making and public*

opinion and *political theory*. Vernon Van Dyke recently examined language choice in international organization, government and politics and--finally--education (1976). As a political scientist, he investigates how those in power reach decisions concerning language, and asks the question of whether language choice or "differentiation" means "discrimination." He points out that neither governments nor political scientists have clarified the bases for policy decisions about bilingual education: "Policy decisions are based on guess, or preference and prejudice, and on adamant political and other pressures far more than on specific reliable knowledge (Van Dyke, 1976)." He, therefore, encourages political scientists and others to study the costs and benefits of language choices for education. One political scientist who answered this call is Donald L. Horowitz, who questions the role of the courts in the making of social policy. According to him, *Lau v Nichols* is an example of an irresponsible judicial foray into language policy making unsupported by either the text or the legislative history of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (1977). The second area--community identity--has attracted the most scholars because of the ethnic explosion around the world, and its results in terms of secession movements and conflict. Again, Horowitz (1975) examines the expansion and contraction of ethnic boundaries and the forces influencing this process, and he, in turn, appeals to fellow political scientists to study ethnicity in relation to problems of peace, consolidation and order.

Pool (Ms.) is more explicitly concerned with language in his study of the salience of language for identity in Quebec and Wales. He compares language with residence, religion, name and ancestry. Laitin (Ms.) recently undertook research into languages of instruction in African schools to determine how the use of a school language might affect an African's perception of his identity. He suggests a typology of nation-building programs based on type of language policy. Although he does not single out bilingualism, which will, in my view, be increasingly characteristic of African school curricula, his forthcoming book, *Politics, Language and Thought* should arouse more political scientists to the language question in education.

At the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, I tried to address the problem of political identity and language standardization. The paper focused on people such as writers, poets and dictionary makers who make language choices in order to challenge the existing definitions of community, and to build new communities. Success for innovation and choice depends on the acceptance by teachers and other "auxiliary intellectuals" who can legitimize and popularize language choices made outside of the government (Weinstein, 1976).

Government decisions and policy making have been directly approached by Jonathan Pool who has been particularly fascinated by the influence or possible influence of mass opinion. In a survey of attitudes among English-speaking Canadians, Pool (1973) found, for example, that Anglophones in Quebec support the idea of promotion of the French language in Quebec more than do Anglophones

outside of Quebec who would be much less affected by such a policy: "If familiarity breeds contempt, the Royal Commission surveys do not show it (Pool, 1973)." He thus suggests that Quebec initiatives in language policy might not meet with so much opposition from English-speaking Quebecois (although more recent attitudes concerning the 1977 language law tend to contradict his findings.)

Pool and the others mentioned above suggest, by their studies, many fruitful lines of research by political scientists. Some of these areas are public opinion and government decisions about bilingual education, investigations into the process of standardization of language for education and group identification with possible political consequences in terms of political party support, interest group behavior and conflict.

Bouthillier and Meynaud (1972) expanded this list by proposing a comprehensive approach to the politics of language. They wrote that a new field called "politico-linguistics" could make important contributions to our understanding of political phenomena. They suggest that their goal is "a general model...of political aspects of linguistic phenomena." Ten lines of research for a new field of "political-linguistics" include Lasswell's (1965) examination of political vocabularies and the application of traditional political science categories for research into the language issue: Interest group behavior, foreign policy, political demands of language movements and linguistic demands of political movements, the effects of political and social change on language and language choices of intergovernmental organizations.

Another possible approach to the mobilization of political science talent for the study of language and bilingual education could be in the formulation of 10 rather simple questions (from my own course, The Politics of Language, at Howard University):

1. *Perceptions of Politics:* How do language structure and use of metaphor shape our understanding of government and political phenomena?

2. *Participation in Politics:* How do language use and choice impede or facilitate involvement in the political process, and what effect does it have on patterns of communication between governments and people?

3. *Domination and Liberation:* How is language used to subjugate peoples, and how do subjugated peoples use language to free themselves?

4. *Elite Behavior:* How do elites use language issues as an instrument to maintain their power or to win power from others?

5. *Nation-building:* How do language and language policy contribute to social integration and political integration?

6. *Nation-destroying and Conflict:* How does language become a reason and a focus for secession and conflict?

7. *Modernization and Development:* In what ways do language change and language policy promote and reflect development?

8. *Educational Systems and Politics:* How does the educational system become a political issue and an instrument of power?

9. *Intellectuals and Interest Groups:* What role do writers, poets, linguists, teachers, journalists and dictionary makers play in the choice of language for a society? What are their political interests? What are the linguistic consequences of language standardization?

10. *International Relations:* How does language link or separate countries?

Until political scientists develop enough of their own data to deal with these questions, dependence on the anthropologists, sociologists, sociolinguists and psycholinguists is mandatory. For example, Fishman's concepts of bilingualism and diglossia help clarify the distinction made by Horowitz (1971), the political scientist, between "vertical and horizontal ethnic differentiation." Haugen's (Dil, 1972) work on bilingualism, particularly his article "The Stigmata of Bilingualism," may help to better understand the motivations of nationalist elites studied by Quandt (1969) in Algeria. The suggestion by Fanch Elegoët (1973) that bilingualism in Brittany is a way station on the track from one monolingualism to another monolingualism is suggestive for political scientists engaged in studies of nation-building. The studies of language standardization by Janet T. Byron (1976) are useful for the same reasons.

In conclusion, political scientists will, one hopes, be increasingly interested in bilingual education and other language questions insofar as they are politicized or insofar as they may become political issues as in Quebec. In addition, they should be constantly aware of the unceasing interaction between political and linguistic phenomena, either through language use or language choice. Thus, political scientists may be able to join with creative bilingual strategists in order to contribute their analytical skills to the solution of an important problem in American society.

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Conference Participants

George Blanco, University of Texas at Austin (Education & Synthesis)

José A. Cárdenas, Intercultural Development Research Association, San Antonio (Education)

James Cummins, University of Alberta (Synthesis)

Charles A. Ferguson, Stanford University (Linguistics)

Lilly Wong Fillmore, University of California, Berkeley (Synthesis)

Joshua A. Fishman, Yeshiva University (Social Sciences)

Joseph O. García, San Diego State University (Education)

Gustavo González, University of California, Santa Barbara (Linguistics)

William Hall, Rockefeller University (Education)

Byron Hansford, Council of Chief State School Officers, D.C. (Education)

Evelyn R. Hatch, University of California, Los Angeles (Linguistics)

Shirley Brice Heath, University of Pennsylvania (Social Sciences & Synthesis)

Editor's Note: The information in parenthesis indicates the particular conference(s) in which individuals were participants.

Richard J. Hiller, Teitelbaum and Hiller, Attorneys at Law, New York City [formerly Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund] (Law & Synthesis)

Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania (Synthesis)

Bea Medicine, University of Wisconsin, Madison (Synthesis)

Hugh Mehan, University of California, San Diego (Social Sciences)

Frederick Mosher, Carnegie Corporation (Synthesis)

Sarah Nieves-Squires, New York University (Social Sciences)

L. Leann Parker, Center for Applied Linguistics (Synthesis)

Christina Bratt Paulston, University of Pittsburgh (Linguistics)

Ernest Pérez, Texas Education Agency, Austin (Synthesis)

Stanley Pottinger, Pottinger and Company [formerly U.S. Department of Justice] (Synthesis)

Roy J. Rodríguez, Office of Civil Rights, DHEW (Law)

Sanford J. Rosen, Rosen, Remcho and Henderson, Attorneys at Law, San Francisco (Law)

Muriel Saville-Troike, Georgetown University (Synthesis)

H. Ned Seelye, Illinois State Department of Bilingual Education, Chicago (Social Sciences)

Roger W. Shuy, Center for Applied Linguistics and Georgetown University (Synthesis)

Edward Steinman, University of Santa Clara School of Law (Law)

Vivien Stewart, Carnegie Corporation (Synthesis)

María Swanson, Bilingual Education Service Center, Arlington Heights, Illinois (Education)

Herbert Teitelbaum, Teitelbaum and Hiller, Attorneys at Law, New York City [formerly Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund] (Law & Synthesis)

G. Richard Tucker, McGill University, Montreal and Ford Foundation in Cairo (Linguistics)

John Wabaunsee, Native American Rights Fund, Boulder, Colorado (Law)

Brian Weinstein, Howard University (Law)

Protase Woodford, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey (Education)

Steering Committee

Mario Anglada, ASPIRA of America, New York City

Will Antell, Minnesota Department of Education, Minneapolis

Joaquín Avila, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, San Antonio

Arnold Leibowitz, Attorney at Law, D.C.

Roger W. Shuy, Center for Applied Linguistics and Georgetown University

Rudolph C. Troike, Center for Applied Linguistics

L. Leann Parker, Center for Applied Linguistics (Project Coordinator)

Project Advisors

John Lum, San Francisco Unified School District

John Molina, Office of Bilingual Education, USOE

Frederick Mosher, Carnegie Corporation

Sara Sackett, Carnegie Corporation

Vivien Stewart, Carnegie Corporation

Herbert Teitelbaum, Attorney at Law, New York City

Carmen D. Votaw, Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, D.C.